

White House admits waging secret war on Nicaragua



U.S. advisers in Puerto Lempira, Honduras, near Nicaraguan border

BY FRED MURPHY

The Reagan administration has now openly declared that it is waging a war against Nicaragua.

Top officials quoted in the November 2 *New York Times* admit that Washington is organizing and financing the terror raids that take place on an almost daily basis against farms and communities in northern Nicaragua. The CIA, they say, is providing money, weapons, and training to the bands of supporters of the late Nicaraguan dictator Anastasio Somoza that operate from camps in southern Honduras.

Each step in this war is decided in Washington, the officials admit. The military operations are directed on a day-to-day basis out of the U.S. embassy in Honduras by Ambassador John Negroponte.

For many months, Nicaraguan government leaders and some antiwar forces in this country have asserted that Washington is waging such a war on Nicaragua. Up to now, administration officials always denied such charges or simply had no comment, while the major news media downplayed them or blacked them out.

That Washington has now decided to acknowledge its responsibility for the mounting armed attacks on Nicaragua is an ominous sign. Antiwar forces in this country must sound the alarm and demand an immediate halt to this aggression, whose goal is to overthrow the Nicaraguan government.

The administration's statements came in response to a nine-page cover story in the November 8 *Newsweek*, headlined "Amer-

An editorial on Washington's war against Nicaragua appears on page 14.

ica's Secret War — Target: Nicaragua."

What *Newsweek* reveals — and U.S. officials have confirmed — is the following:

- The U.S. campaign of covert action against the Nicaraguan revolution began under the Carter administration in 1978 and has escalated ever since.
- CIA agents and U.S. military advisers now train the Nicaraguan exile terrorists in Honduras, repair their equipment, plan their missions, and may even be participating in their operations inside Nicaragua.

- The whole campaign is directed from the U.S. embassy in the Honduran capital, Tegucigalpa. U.S. Ambassador John Negroponte — whom the terrorists call "The Boss" — issues all the orders, with the Honduran military's high command serving as go-betweens.

The Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) led the long and costly struggle of the Nicaraguan people to rid themselves of the hated, U.S.-backed Somoza dictatorship. In 1978, as Washington grew

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Tijuana meeting forms antiwar group

BY ANDREA GONZÁLEZ AND LARRY SEIGLE

TIJUANA, Mexico — In the face of Washington's plans for new military moves, hundreds of activists from the United States and Mexico met here October 30-31 to launch a new coalition aimed at mobilizing opposition to U.S. intervention in El Salvador and throughout Central America.

The conference was called together by the Mexican Committee of Solidarity with the Salvadoran People in an attempt to link up with forces in the United States who want to build a broad-based anti-intervention movement.

The Mexican committee works closely with the leadership based in Mexico City of the Salvadoran Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN) and Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR). Delegates from the FMLN-FDR addressed the conference here, giving a detailed report on the advances being registered inside El Salvador, and appealing for solidarity action on an international scale, and especially inside the United States.

"Every voice that is raised against intervention serves to slow down the war moves of the United States government," declared Victor Medrano, who spoke to the conference on behalf of the FMLN-FDR. "Whether our people will soon have the peace we desire depends on all of you."

Gilberto Lopez y Rivas, a leader of the Mexican Committee of Solidarity With the Salvadoran People, gave a keynote address, emphasizing the importance of this border gathering as a first step in deepening the mobilization of working people in the fight against U.S. imperialism.

"We feel a deep respect for the North American working people and for the oppressed nationalities and minorities in the United States. We feel an obligation to have fraternal relations and to work together with these people because we understand the historic role that they will play in the liberation of our America."

"The people of Mexico and the United States should march together in the anti-imperialist struggle. We should coordinate our efforts to stop the imminent intervention of the U.S. government in Central

America. We must fight to prevent the youth, the sons of the North American working people, from dying in the interests of a handful of capitalists."

Participants came from a number of cities in the north of Mexico, and from California, Arizona, and Colorado. The Mexican delegates came from local chapters of the Mexican solidarity committee,

as well as from some unions and university campuses.

From the U.S. side of the border, most of the delegates came from local groups that have been carrying out activities against the U.S. intervention in El Salvador, generally independently of any nationwide coordination. In addition, sev-

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Gov't frame-up revealed in Carthan trial

BY RASHAAD ALI

LEXINGTON, Miss. — The second week of the frame-up trial of former Tchula Mayor Eddie Carthan revealed how serious state and Holmes County officials are in their drive to sentence him to death.

Carthan, the first Black mayor of Tchula, is on trial in Holmes County Circuit Court for allegedly ordering the June 1981 murder of Roosevelt Granderson. Granderson, a Black alderman in Tchula, was a front man for the large cotton growers and businessmen who run the Democratic Party in this Mississippi Delta town.

Granderson had become acting mayor in 1981 after Carthan was framed up on a charge of assaulting a police officer. Carthan is presently serving a three-year jail term, and six of his supporters are on probation, for the same charge. They have become known as the Tchula Seven.

The naked character of the frame-up was exposed during the trial when the prosecution put on the stand its key witness, Vincent Earl Bolden, one of the two men convicted of killing Granderson. Bolden testified that he "understood" that he was to make a hit, meaning a murder, and receive anywhere from \$2,000 to \$75,000 from Carthan for it.

Bolden described how he and his cousin David Hester murdered Granderson and robbed the Jitney Junior convenience store where he worked. Bolden also told of a bank holdup attempt to finance cocaine smuggling in South Africa.

Johnny Walls, chief defense attorney, asked Bolden if he had agreed to testify against Carthan because he was "afraid of

taking that lonely walk to the gas chamber."

Bolden answered, "Yes."

Walls also asked him if he had ever told his attorney he didn't know Carthan. He replied, "I don't remember."

The questioning of Bolden revealed that the state, in its attempts to get Carthan, had made a plea-bargain deal with Bolden.

The deal, under which Bolden could be back on the street in five to seven years, is contained in a letter that most of the news

media received, including this reporter, from supporters of Carthan.

The deal is spelled out on official letterhead stationery from the office of Mississippi District Attorney Frank Carlton in a letter dated April 13, 1982, to Wally Stucky, who is Bolden's attorney.

In return for his testifying against Carthan, the state agreed to "refrain from seeking the death penalty and move to reduce the charge of capital murder to one of

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Young Socialists set Dec. gathering

BY LISA HICKLER

With the elections over, supporters of Socialist Workers Party (SWP) candidates are not closing up shop. Instead, they are organizing a nationwide effort to build the upcoming convention of the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA).

The growing resistance by workers to the policies of the employers and their government — illustrated by the Chrysler workers' rejection of their contract and the 70,000-strong labor march in San Francisco October 24 — will be at the center of discussions at the YSA convention. It will be held at the McCormick Inn in Chicago, Illinois, from December 30-January 2.

Attending will be young fighters from the coal mines, auto plants, steel mills, and garment shops, as well as unemployed youth and students. Many will be at their first YSA convention, reflecting recent recruitment to the YSA. Among those who have recently joined are a laid-off steel-

worker on Minnesota's Mesabi Iron Range; a copper miner in Phoenix; a high school student in Toledo; and four young people in San Diego.

At the convention, delegates elected by every YSA chapter will discuss a resolution submitted by the YSA's National Executive Committee, *The deepening proletarianization of U.S. politics — The tasks of the YSA*. Copies of the resolution have just come off the press.

In addition to a series of political reports and discussion, and workshops, a highlight of the meeting will be a public talk by Jack Barnes, national secretary of the Socialist Workers Party. Barnes will speak on "Their Trotsky and Ours: Revolutionary Continuity Today."

A public rally will also be held during the convention, featuring fighters in the class struggle in this country and abroad.

Convention delegates will discuss and *Continued on Page 4*

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alarmed that Somoza might actually fall, "Jimmy Carter signed a 'finding' . . . authorizing under-the-table CIA support for democratic elements in Nicaraguan society, such as the press and labor unions," *Newsweek* says.

Among these so-called democratic elements were the capitalist political parties and news media, and those corrupt trade-union officials who could be counted on to oppose the Sandinistas' aim of building a new society.

Carter's efforts failed to prevent a Sandinista victory. In July 1979 Somoza's National Guard collapsed and many of its troops fled across the northern border into Honduras. A workers and farmers government came to power in Nicaragua under the FSLN leadership. Since then the Sandinistas have adopted extensive measures to improve the lives of the poor and working people of the country — at the expense of the capitalists and landlords.

The National Guard troops and other pro-Somoza riffraff that left Nicaragua for Honduras now form the bulk of Washington's counterrevolutionary troops.

From the 10 training camps *Newsweek* says have been set up both in southern Honduras and inside Nicaraguan territory, bands of *Somocistas* (Somozaists) conduct murderous forays to sow terror among workers and farmers in northern Nicaragua. They also sabotage roads, bridges, and construction projects.

In the latest of these raids, seven peasants were hacked to death by machete-wielding counterrevolutionaries in Nueva Segovia province on October 28. This was one of 429 such attacks in less than three years, according to a recent report by the Nicaraguan Foreign Ministry.

As new U.S. weaponry and equipment have been shipped by the Pentagon to the Honduran armed forces as part of a huge step-up in military aid, the older Honduran arms have been turned over to the Somocistas, *Newsweek* says. The magazine reports that "there are now almost 50 CIA personnel serving in Honduras. . . . That team is supplemented by dozens of operatives including a number of retired military and intelligence officers." Their role is described as follows:

"When equipment — helicopters and radios, for example — breaks down, Americans repair it. Americans established the guerrillas' training regime. . . . The Americans were soon treading the thin line between instructing insurgents and plotting the missions they were being trained for. Though Americans are expressly forbidden to go out on operations, one veteran of other paramilitary operations said: 'Inevitably that happens. . . . You lose your credibility with the people you're training if you hole up entirely.'

According to the November 2 *New York*

Times, a "senior national security official" of the Reagan administration "acknowledged that the C.I.A. was providing money and military equipment to the units. He added that Americans were also helping to train the anti-Sandinist forces."

The officials cited in the *Times* denied that Washington is trying to overthrow the Sandinista government. *Newsweek* asserts that Reagan's aim in signing the orders for the secret war was "to interdict weapons shipments from Nicaragua to Salvadoran guerrillas."

U.S. allegations of such shipments have never been proved; they are merely the public propaganda cover for Washington's real goal. According to a "well-placed administration source" quoted by *Newsweek*, Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs Thomas Enders has spoken repeatedly about the need to "get rid of the Sandinistas."

Certainly the Somocistas Washington has armed and organized make no secret about their aims. "Come the counterrevolution, there will be a massacre in Nicaragua," a Somocista officer told *Newsweek*.

Another Somocista told *Newsweek* his forces were ready to invade Nicaragua in force. "We just need to hear from The Boss that it's time to go." Who was this boss, the reporter asked. "He's the man you call 'Mr. Ambassador'" — that is, U.S. Ambassador to Honduras John Negroponte.

"Negroponte is the spearhead," a Washington source told *Newsweek*. "He was sent down there by Haig and Enders to carry out the operation without any qualms of conscience."

According to U.S. and Honduran sources cited by the magazine, "the ambassador has been careful to deal with the Somocistas through intermediaries to preserve his deniability. Asked about U.S. support for Somocistas or other *contras* [counterrevolutionaries] last week, Negroponte said: 'No comment, no comment, and a big fat no comment.'"

The main intermediary is Honduran Defense Minister Gen. Gustavo Alvarez. "They discuss what should be done, and then Alvarez does what Negroponte tells him to," a top Honduran commander told *Newsweek*.

In the November 2 *New York Times*, a "senior intelligence official," was quoted as saying: "Negroponte, as the chief of mission, oversees the operations, but nothing is done without clearing it in Washington first."

Newsweek's report serves to confirm other recent indications that a major attack on Nicaragua from Honduras could come in the next few weeks. "A spokesman for one band, a former national guard lieutenant, says the diverse bands are coordinating for combined attacks later this year," the October 24 *Miami Herald* reported.

U.S.-Honduran military maneuvers of unprecedented scope are set to begin December 5. According to *Newsweek*, these will be held "near one of the most sensitive stretches of the Nicaraguan-Honduran border. The five-day maneuvers will include the U.S. Army, Navy and Air Force; they will simulate the freeing of an army garrison from cross-border invaders. A growing number of people on both sides of the border fear the simulation might preview a real war."

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simple murder and recommend a life sentence.

The state also agreed that Bolden "will not be required to testify against David Hester in connection with the said murder and robbery of Roosevelt Granderson."

After his testimony the state "will pass all other charges now pending against Vincent Earl Bolden to the files" — they will be dropped — and he can "spend the time he is required to serve at his choice" of county jails or a state prison.

In addition, the state will attempt to have the defendant placed in a satellite program (light duty), and will recommend that "the defendant be released on parole in the minimum time required to be served providing he remain on good behavior during his incarceration and will also recommend to the governor that he receive executive good time."

Even with this deal and the obvious coaching by the DA's offices, the only thing that has been definitely established is that this "hit" had been posed by Hester to Bolden in East St. Louis, Illinois. No concrete evidence has been established that Carthan had anything to do with the murder.

How weak the state's case is became clear when, in an unprecedented move, the DA asked Circuit Court Judge Arthur Clark for permission to bring Hester in to testify, but only after he could make a deal with Hester like Bolden's.

This was objected to by Carthan's attorney

neys, but the judge granted the motion.

Hester's testimony followed the same script as Bolden's.

Support is evident for Carthan and the Tchula Seven among Blacks in Holmes County and the surrounding areas. Supporters come early to get in and greet Carthan when he enters and leaves the court house, which he does about five times a day. Posters, and large red, black, and green banners and streamers are all around the courthouse, with pictures of Carthan and signs demanding the freeing of the Tchula Seven.

The Carthan family and others of the Tchula Seven regularly attend the trial. Every other day supporters hand out a bulletin to inform those who can't get into the courtroom what has taken place in the trial and to point out the discrepancies in the DA's case.

The bulletin was banned by the judge from the courthouse.

The boss press has tried to portray Roosevelt Granderson as a popular person in this area, and claims that race has nothing to do with the trial, since all involved are Black. But it becomes clear through the trial that the real picture is quite different.

Granderson was fired from his teaching job by the school board for stealing gasoline, leaving classrooms and school without permission, cruelty to students (he held one student up by his feet), and having affairs with female students.

But he was reinstated with the help of white Holmes County Supervisor B.T.

Taylor, and by a court order.

Behind Granderson were the large cotton growers of the county, represented by John Edgar Hays and Taylor, whose job was to preserve at all costs the political power this white minority has held in Holmes County for more than 100 years. They organized a campaign to disrupt the Carthan administration, elected in 1977, because of its reform measures.

They tried to strip Mayor Carthan of legal power and rights to carry out these measures by discouraging businesses from locating there, hindering the town's ability to get federal funds, not paying city employees for two months, and not paying the city's bills, among other things.

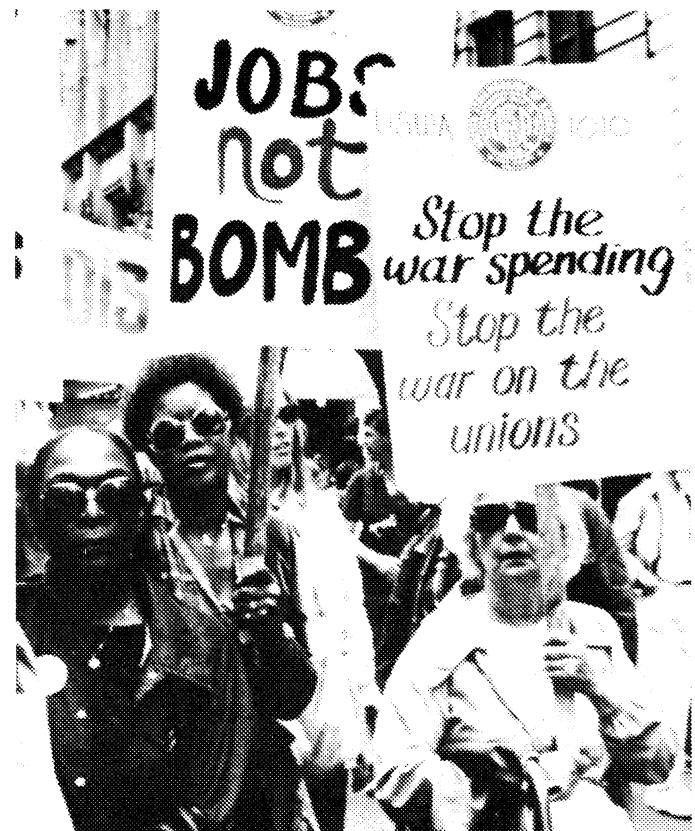
More than 50 state troopers were brought here for the trial, along with cops from surrounding towns. But when five white youths rammed a pickup into several cars at the Catholic Sisters House, they did nothing to apprehend them.

The Catholic sisters are among the strongest supporters of the Tchula Seven.

Money for the case is needed, and the support committee is planning activities to bring the truth about the case of Mayor Carthan and the Tchula Seven to all corners of this country.

Contributions should be made out to Zion City M.B. Church Mission Fund (designate Tchula Seven Defense), and mailed to the National Campaign to Free Mayor Eddie Carthan and the Tchula Seven and to Preserve Black Political Rights, P.O. Box 29, Tchula, Miss. 39169.

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Did workers win in Nov. 2 elections?



Chicagoans lining up for jobs. Unemployment rate of 10.1 percent was main factor in midterm shift of voters to Democrats, despite fact that Democrats offer no alternative to working people.

BY HARRY RING

NOVEMBER 3 — As anticipated, a majority of those who went to the polls yesterday cast their vote against the Reagan administration's refusal to act on behalf of the nation's 11 million unemployed. Another factor, initial returns indicate, was the fear of older people of further attacks on the Social Security system.

The beneficiaries of this protest, of course, were the Democratic "outs" who demagogically criticized the Republican record while offering zero by way of a meaningful alternative for working people.

The jobless issue cut deep. In one national survey, 40 percent of those queried said they have been directly affected by the deep economic downturn.

While industrial workers bear the brunt of the layoffs, broad sectors of the population are affected. One poll showed that in the Northeast there was a pronounced swing among white collar workers and professionals away from the Republicans. Most said the unemployment issue was the deciding factor for them.

One of the exceptions in the midterm swing to the Democrats was the vote in California where the Republican candidates for governor and U.S. senator appeared to have nosed out Democratic gubernatorial candidate Thomas Bradley and senatorial candidate Edmund Brown.

But in California, a ballot proposition for a nuclear freeze, which the Democrats campaigned for and the Republicans opposed, gained a majority.

The nuclear freeze issue, in various forms, was on the ballot in nine states and the District of Columbia. Initial returns indicate a majority yes vote on the proposition that Washington enter into negotiations with the Soviet Union for a mutual freeze of nuclear stockpiles.

Socialist Workers Party candidates favored not voting on these ballot proposals. They explained that the particular form of the nuclear freeze proposals and the campaign around them were totally connected to the Democrats' procapitalist peace demagogic. While talking about freezing nuclear weapons, the Democrats in Congress, in fact, keep on voting for bigger weapons budgets.

Nonetheless the vote favoring the nuclear freeze does register the broad concern of working people over war and the nuclear threat.

The midterm swing to the Democrats, at a time when the official unemployment rate is 10.1 percent, is by no means a new phenomenon. Traditionally, U.S. workers, trapped in the capitalist two-party system, have turned to the outs in these elections in a frustrated effort to register their dissatisfaction with the ins.

Back in 1946, with rising inflation and growing unemployment, the Democrats, under Truman, lost 56 seats in Congress. In 1958, under Eisenhower, with unemployment at 7.1 percent, the Republicans lost 47 seats.

That loss was matched by the Democrats under Johnson in 1966 as U.S. intervention

in Vietnam began to emerge as a key issue for working people.

And it's generally agreed that Reagan made it to the White House two years ago as a result of the wide anger with the economic policies of the Carter administration.

These swings back and forth, without a dime's worth of progress on the issues of concern, demonstrate what a total trap the two-party system is for American working people.

A sensible, but not surprising, observation on this phenomenon was offered to the *New York Times* by Walter Dean Burnham, a political science professor.

Unemployment, he said on election eve, could bring out a somewhat larger protest vote against the Republicans. But, he added, "On the other hand, the lack of alternatives offered by the other side to the existing order can discourage people from voting."

"Essentially," he added, "the decay in voter turnout is due to the structure of choice in elections that leave many voters bored, unhappy and uninterested."

That sums up a lot of it and it won't change until working people do see a meaningful alternative. But they themselves will have to provide that alternative. That means rejecting the political course of the union officialdom, which refuses to make its way out of the swamp of capitalist politics. The demand for a meaningful choice will be realized when a labor party is built in this country — a party based on the union movement in alliance with working farmers, the Black and Latino communities, and the women's rights movement.

Meanwhile, it is important to recognize that the voting returns are only a partial — and highly distorted — reflection of developments within the working class.

Increasing numbers of working people today are looking for a way out of the present critical situation and are not limiting themselves to the meaningless "choice" between the twin capitalist parties. Several recent events confirm that working people do recognize the need for a serious fight-back in defense of their living and job conditions.

One example of this came last July 30 when leaders of the United Steelworkers union voted unanimously not to reopen the contract covering workers in the basic steel industry. This had been pressed for by employers seeking major union givebacks.

This same recognition that collaboration with the boss is not the road out of their crisis was given dramatic expression when United Auto Workers members at the Chrysler Corp. voted two-to-one last month to reject a proposed contract that would have meant substantial concessions on working conditions and wages. It was the first such rejection by auto workers of a national pact recommended by their officialdom.

Perhaps the most visible demonstration of workers' increased will to fight back was the October 24 united labor demonstration in San Francisco. Registering their strong protest against present conditions, 70,000 workers turned out for the march. It was the city's biggest labor demonstration since the late 1940s.

Such things as these say far more about what is happening among working people than the results of the November 2 balloting.

One gratifying fact about the elections was the encouraging response to the socialist candidates.

The Socialist Workers Party had candidates on the ballot contesting for 19 congressional seats, 12 statewide offices, and four local ones.

The vote for the socialist nominees, which are generally not readily available, will undoubtedly be modest.

But in virtually all of the campaigns, the socialists found an increasing interest in their ideas. This was seen in the encouraging number of people visiting SWP campaign offices for additional information and attending campaign meetings and classes on the socialist program.

And, already, a number of people have joined the SWP and Young Socialist Alliance as a result of the socialist campaigns.

That, we believe, is a particularly meaningful vote.

El Salvador rebels offer talks proposal

BY HARRY RING

Liberation forces in El Salvador have confronted the dictatorship in that country, and its U.S. backers, with a proposal for negotiations to end the civil war there.

Washington's initial response was to reject peace talks, repeating its demand for the rebels to lay down their arms and negotiate a surrender. This was echoed by El Salvador's provisional president. Meanwhile, the most nakedly right-wing forces in the Salvadoran Constituent Assembly assailed any consideration of the negotiation proposal as "treason."

The rebel offer was announced at an October 26 news conference in Mexico City. The spokespersons were Guillermo Manuel Ungo and Ana Guadalupe Martínez.

Ungo is president of the Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR), the coalition of the political, labor, and peasant organizations involved in the liberation struggle. Martínez, a guerrilla leader, represented the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN), which unites El Salvador's five armed revolutionary organizations.

Both Ungo and Martínez emphasized that the negotiations plan represented a joint initiative by the FDR and FMLN. It was signed by the five top commanders of the FMLN — Salvador Cayetano Carpio, Joaquín Villalobos, Schafik Jorge Handal, Fermán Cienfuegos, and Roberto Roca.

Signing for the FDR were Ungo, Eduardo Calles, and Rubén Zamora.

The FDR and FMLN have made several previous proposals for a political solution that could end the civil war that has gripped their country since 1979. The present plan differs from some earlier ones in that it stipulates no preconditions for opening the negotiations.

The offer was presented directly to key figures in the Salvadoran regime and delivered to them by the acting Catholic archbishop of San Salvador.

The plan was also slated for presentation to officials in Washington.

The liberation forces proposed that the executive branch of the Salvadoran regime, the Constituent Assembly, and the armed forces quickly enter into "a direct dialogue without prior conditions" with the FDR and FMLN.

In explaining that the plan would also be presented to Washington, FDR leader Ungo observed, "We can now test the U.S. willingness to talk. The political will of the U.S. is a vital factor in leading to any dialogue."

Guerrilla leader Martínez pointed out that the proposal is made "in the context of a military situation that favors us.

"We haven't called for a ceasefire," she



Guillermo Manuel Ungo, left, president of Revolutionary Democratic Front. At right, Ana Guadalupe Martínez, representative of Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front.

added, "because we don't want to lay down any preconditions."

The guerrillas launched a major new offensive October 10, which has given them virtual control of the northern halves of two provinces. In several towns, heavy counterassaults by government forces have failed to dislodge the freedom fighters.

At the Mexico City news conference, it was pointed out that the Salvadoran people have waged an historic struggle to achieve a just society where they can enjoy the fruits of their labor and that a privileged minority has used force to try to thwart these aspirations.

The intervention of the United States was pointed to as a factor preventing the "free self determination" of the Salvadoran people.

The rebel forces are apparently proceeding on the assumption that the present difficulties of the governing forces in El Salvador make it an opportune moment to press the negotiation offer. The move could result in even broader popular support for the FDR and FMLN.

The FDR and FMLN recognize, of course, that the key factor in the situation is Washington, whose supply of guns and dollars gives it a decisive vote in its client regime. And, clearly, Washington has not retreated on its grim determination to achieve military victory over the revolutionary forces.

Washington and the capitalist press have waged a campaign to try to divide the liberation forces by trying to get what they term the "moderates" to accept a negotiated

agreement that would amount to surrender. But this ploy has been unsuccessful.

While Washington's long-term perspective is clear, it faces substantial obstacles, including domestic ones.

In January, the administration must again repeat the obscene charade of certifying to Congress that the Salvadoran regime is making progress on human rights. This is a requirement for continuing aid to the dictatorship.

Such certification was difficult six months ago and it will be more so now.

One added difficulty came when Salvadoran judges released one of the military officers who arranged the January 1981 murder of two U.S. personnel who were working on what purports to be a land reform program there.

The officer's release was followed by the kidnapping of 21 members of the labor and political opposition to the government, including five FDR leaders. Later the army admitted to holding eight of them and said it would try them as "terrorists." The fate of the other 13 is unknown.

So, again, Washington is urging its Salvadoran lieutenants to clean up their public act a bit. (Fumed U.S. Ambassador Deane Hinton, "You don't have to kill people in the night. You don't have to decapitate people.")

Meanwhile, the rebel forces have indicated their awareness that Washington would like to divide their forces and have emphasized that the goal of a revolutionary transformation of Salvadoran society demands their continuing total unity.

Spanish workers greet Socialist victory



Spanish working people voted for jobs and democratic rights and against war and NATO.

BY JOSÉ G. PÉREZ

The major news media have been billing the sweeping victory of the Spanish Socialist Workers Party (PSOE) in the October 28 parliamentary elections as the "personal triumph" of party leader Felipe González.

But the importance of the election results lies elsewhere. The unprecedented scale of the PSOE victory expresses the growing resistance of the Spanish masses to the capitalist offensive against their democratic rights and standard of living.

By voting for the PSOE, working people expressed their opposition to the double-digit inflation and unemployment they have suffered for years. Since 1976, unemployment has skyrocketed from 5 percent to more than 15 percent, and inflation has averaged well over 15 percent. Workers' wages have lagged far behind inflation.

The vote for the PSOE also expressed workers' opposition to making Spain a part of NATO, the imperialist military alliance. Demonstrations against joining NATO have drawn up to half a million people in Spain.

The vote was a firm rebuff to those who tried to blackmail voters with the threat that a PSOE victory would lead to a right-wing military coup. By electing the socialists, workers demonstrated their resolve to consolidate and extend the gains won since the end of the Franco dictatorship, and deal a decisive blow to the forces trying to return to Francoism.

By voting for the PSOE so massively, giving it an absolute parliamentary majority, working people expressed their belief that all these problems facing the Spanish masses could not begin to be solved without a workers party in government.

The PSOE's central slogan — "For change!" — struck a responsive chord among masses of Spaniards. From the beginning, the PSOE rallies far outdrew those of all other parties, and by the end of the campaign there was simply no comparison: Whereas the PSOE drew a huge throng estimated at between 250,000 and 500,000 to its closing rally, its main capitalist opponent — the Popular Alliance — drew only 50,000. The Democratic and Social Center of former Prime Minister Adolfo Suárez drew only 3,000 and the Union of the Democratic Center (UCD) — the outgoing governing party — didn't even bother to hold a windup event.

The outcome of the voting confirmed the massive surge towards the PSOE. The 79.5 percent voter turnout set a new record, as did the 46 percent of the popular vote captured by the PSOE. (The UCD had won the previous elections with about 35 percent.)

The PSOE took 201 of the 350 seats in the congress, the first time ever any party has won such an outright majority.

Supporters of the PSOE celebrated the triumph until the morning after the vote. Even at four in the morning traffic in the center of Madrid was still jammed.

The Communist Party (PCE), Spain's other mass working-class party, won about 4 percent of the vote, retaining only 5 of the 23 seats it held in the outgoing parliament. Despite this showing, the PCE remains a powerful force in the Spanish

working-class movement. The trade union federation it leads, the Workers Commissions, is slightly larger than the PSOE-led General Union of Workers, and is especially strong among industrial workers.

Reports published in the U.S. press do not say whether the smaller formations that present themselves as being to the left of the PCE and PSOE won any seats. These currents are especially strong in the Basque Country, one of the oppressed nations within Spain, and radical nationalists there had been expected to win several seats.

Capitalists shift to right

The elections also reflected a sharp shift to the right by the capitalist parties.

The staunchly right-wing Popular Alliance (AP) came in second with 25 percent of the vote and 106 deputies, a big jump from the 5.8 percent and nine seats it won in 1979.

Although it presents itself as the "democratic right," the AP is headed by Manuel Fraga Iribarne, a former member of fascist dictator Francisco Franco's cabinet. His campaign themes echoed traditional Francoist propaganda: "defense of the family" (opposition to abortion and contraception rights and to divorce) and "Spanish unity" (denial of the right of self-determination to the oppressed nations within Spain.)

In past years, the bulk of the Spanish ruling class had not backed the AP, since it is tainted with Francoism and justly hated by the working people. Instead, they backed the Union of the Democratic Center coalition, also headed by former Francoists, but ones with a more "democratic" image. The UCD had won a plurality in the 1977 and 1979 elections.

The UCD was virtually wiped out as a significant national political organization in these elections. It won only 12 seats, compared to 168 three years ago. It was the disintegration of the UCD coalition over the summer that led to the calling of general elections a year before the laws required it.

The shift to the right by the capitalist class is not a sudden development.

Following the death of dictator Francisco Franco in 1975, a massive working-class upsurge forced the government to grant extensive concessions. The rulers legalized the working-class parties and

unions, lifted restrictions on the press, granted limited home rule to the Basque and Catalan oppressed nations, and held general elections.

As the crisis of capitalism in Spain deepened, the rulers began to chop away at these concessions. In February of 1981, a section of the army tried to stage a coup. This attempt did not have the backing of the decisive sectors of the ruling class and the officer corps and it failed. But the ruling class seized the offensive after the coup attempt to ram through a new "antiterrorist" law and to restrict the powers of the local Catalan and Basque authorities.

The capitalists have continued to use the threat of a coup as a club against the working people. On October 2 of this year three colonels were arrested for plotting a new coup, to be carried out the day before the vote. Although the plotters' papers named some 200 officers whose cooperation could be counted on, all but the three colonels remain at their posts.

Fraga Iribarne tried to use the coup threat to scare people into voting against the PSOE. Following the February 1981 attempt, he called for understanding of the plotters' concerns. And during the recent election campaign he stressed that, under an AP government, the threat of a coup would be eliminated.

For its part, although some top PSOE leaders have called for arresting all 200 officers involved in the latest plot, González instead has focused on calls for avoiding provocations and on promises of moderation.

Apart from the general calls "for change" that sought to capitalize on the discontent of the Spanish masses, the PSOE did not present a program for far-reaching transformation of Spanish society, or even substantial reforms.

Spain is a prison house of nations. The Basque and Catalan nations are the most industrially developed part of Spain and account for more than a fifth of the population. Struggles in defense of their own languages, culture, and other national rights have been especially strong in those areas. Galicia, a mostly rural zone, constitutes yet a third oppressed nation.

The PSOE leadership has not defended the struggles of these oppressed peoples; instead, it has increasingly taken its distance

from them. This led to the capitalist Basque Nationalist Party (PNV) running as strongly as the PSOE in the area — although in 1977 the PSOE had won more than the PNV.

Another hot issue in the elections was Spanish affiliation to NATO. The PSOE opposed the outgoing government's decision to join NATO, and campaigned on the promise of holding a referendum on the issue. Following the election, authoritative party spokespeople said discussions on the integration of Spain into NATO's military structure would be frozen indefinitely.

U.S. bases

Related to this issue is a new treaty for the continuation of U.S. use of four military bases in Spain. Negotiations on this treaty were concluded in July, but it has yet to be ratified by the Spanish parliament. The PSOE is not opposed to the U.S. use of these bases as such, but says it wants to renegotiate the pact.

Among the factors involved in this renegotiation are the Spanish bourgeoisie's interests as an imperialist ruling class in its own right. Spanish capitalists have important interests in Latin America and the Arab countries, which has led to conflicts with some U.S. foreign policy moves.

Another important issue in Spanish politics is the farm question. Nineteen percent of the economically active population in Spain is involved in agriculture (compared to 37 percent in industry).

In Felipe González's native Andalucía — the largest and one of the poorest regions in Spain — this question is especially acute. A few thousand landowners own millions of hectares. There is rampant unemployment and a fourth of the population is illiterate. It was a sweeping PSOE victory in the Andalucian regional elections last May that led to the break-up of the UCD and the call for general elections.

The PSOE electoral sweep has put Spanish workers in a stronger position to fight on all these questions. To a large degree what will happen next in Spanish politics will depend not on the PSOE leadership, but on how successfully working people use the openings created by this advance to strengthen their unions and other organizations and set them on a course of fighting in defense of the interests of the working class and all the oppressed.

Young Socialist Alliance convention

Continued from Page 1

vote on a course of action for the next year based on a series of reports on the major arenas of YSA activity. An international report will focus on the deepening confrontation between the workers and peasants of Nicaragua and the U.S.-backed forces seeking to reverse that country's three-year revolution.

A political report will assess the changing consciousness of U.S. workers and the role of revolutionary socialists in the unions, in the fight against war, and in other struggles of the working class.

The fight for Black liberation will be taken up in a report on the growing struggles against police brutality and other racist attacks and the political discussions among activists on how to advance the Black struggle.

The Marxist view of the oppression of women and the new opportunities to advance the battle for women's rights will be discussed under a separate report.

Seventy-one percent of YSA members work in industry or are looking for industri-

al jobs. An organization report will sum up the progress the YSA has made in deepening its orientation to the working class and project tasks for the coming year to reach more young workers with socialist ideas.

Between now and December, YSA and SWP members across the country will be organizing to bring as many supporters as possible to the convention. A major way this will be done is through the highly successful circulation drive of the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*, our Spanish-language sister publication, as well as by selling the *Young Socialist*, bimonthly paper of the YSA.

As part of this effort YSA leaders Mac Warren and Andrea González will be speaking in several cities at public forums and educational weekends (see tour schedule).

Chicago socialists have launched a convention-building team which will stay on the road for four weeks. The team is distributing hundreds of copies of the *Militant*, *Perspectiva Mundial*, and the *Young*

Socialist

Chicago YSA chairman Rick Berman reports that the team has already sold 23 *Militants* in Peoria, Illinois, to striking Caterpillar workers.

Some 20,000 leaflets will be distributed throughout the coalfields of Illinois; to Chrysler workers in Belvidere, Illinois; laid-off auto workers in Kokomo, Indiana; and on campuses in Indiana, Wisconsin, and Illinois.

In Chicago itself, YSA members are campaigning for Ed Warren, the Socialist Workers candidate for mayor in the April 1983 elections, and urging Warren's supporters to attend the convention.

For more information on how you can attend the convention, write to YSA National Office, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014. Copies of the YSA convention resolution, *The deepening proletarianization of U.S. politics*, are available from the above address for \$1.50.

YSA leaders on speaking tour

Young Socialist Alliance national leaders Mac Warren and Andrea González will be speaking in a number of cities to build participation in the upcoming YSA convention.

Warren will address meetings in Detroit on November 11; Toledo, November 12; and Cleveland, November 13.

González will speak in Philadelphia November 13; St. Louis, November 19; and Indianapolis, November 20.

For more information contact the YSA chapter nearest you. (See directory, page 15.)



Militant/Charles Ostrofsky

Militant/K.C. Ellis

Andrea González and Mac Warren, YSA leaders on tour to publicize convention.

Socialist worker wins leave to conduct election campaign

BY GEORGE JOHNSON

Peter Thierjung, Socialist Workers Party candidate for lieutenant governor of New York, and his campaign supporters decided he should campaign full-time for the last two weeks prior to the November 2 election.

So Thierjung asked his employer, White Mop Wringer Co. in Fultonville, New York, for a leave of absence starting October 17.

White Mop turned him down, saying they couldn't grant him a leave to look for another job, which they claimed running for office is. It would set a bad precedent.

Thierjung's co-workers, informed of the company's refusal to grant the leave, were outraged.

"I'll bet if you were Ronald Reagan they'd grant you a leave right away and give you a big contribution on top of it," one said. "These people should be proud you're running for lieutenant governor, instead of shafting you like that," said another.

His co-workers, Thierjung told the *Militant*, said that he "should fight the company, and not let them off on this one."

He filed a grievance, which was signed by his shop steward and by the business agent for Local 417 of the International Association of Sheetmetal Workers, Thierjung's union.

After what he described as a "big discussion in the shop," Thierjung wrote a letter to an international representative for the union about the company's rejection of his leave request.

A week went by, and the company stonewalled on the grievance. But, Thier-

jung said, right after the international representative got his letter, he was suddenly called in for a special meeting with local and international officials of the union and company representatives.

The company, Thierjung said, "read the grievance and their reply. Then the international rep said, real mad, 'Are you telling us you have to be a Lew Lehrman [Republican candidate for governor of New York] with millions of dollars to run in this democracy of ours, and that a working man, Peter, whom I admire and who depends on his job, can't run for office?'"

The company's reply, Thierjung said, "was if we grant a leave of absence for this one, we'll have to do it for everybody, and God forbid we should set a precedent, and what if Peter wins?"

The union's answer, Thierjung said, was, "If he wins, you extend the leave for

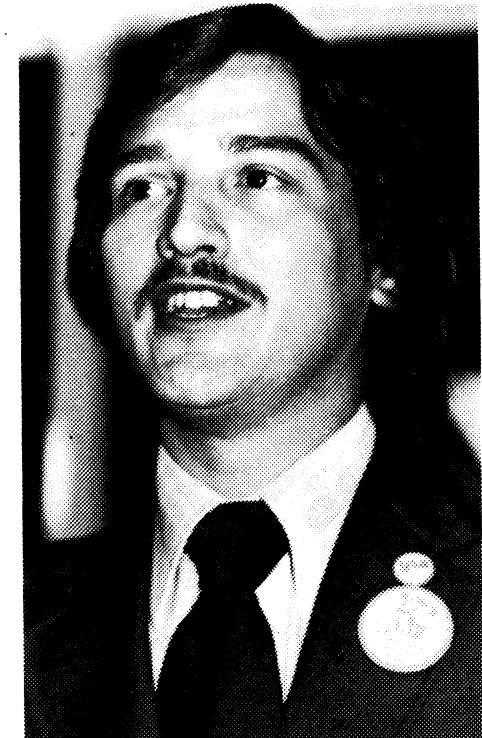
his term of office; we won't back off on that one."

The company "didn't expect these political arguments; they thought the grievance would kind of drop," Thierjung went on. "Then they caucused, and came back and told us they'd grant the leave."

"I went right back to the shop after that, and it was like a victory celebration, with people slapping me on the back."

Thierjung is well-known in his plant and in his union as a fighter who sticks up for the rights of workers against the employer. He attributes this reputation, at least in part, to the decision by the union to go to bat for him on the issue of the leave.

During the campaign, Thierjung received a lot of publicity in the Albany-Schenectady area. He appeared on radio talk shows, campaigned at plant gates, and spoke on campuses.



Militant/Lou Howort

Peter Thierjung, socialist candidate for lieutenant governor of New York.

Thousands line up for N.Y.C. jobs

BY STEVE WATTENMAKER

NEW YORK — At 9 a.m. on Tuesday, October 26, the Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners in New York City handed out 2,000 applications for 400 apprenticeship jobs. Thousands of people lined up on East 26th Street as long as four days in advance to apply.

East 26th Street was still pitch-dark when Diane Wang and I rounded the corner at 6 a.m. A cold, steady rain had been falling for 25 hours.

Diane is the Socialist Workers Party

(SWP) candidate for New York governor. I'm running on the SWP ticket for U.S. Senate.

Makeshift hovels of clear plastic, cardboard, and scrap lumber clung to the buildings along one side of 26th Street in both directions as far as we could see.

Every few dozen feet barrel fires highlighted the shadowed faces of one or two — or four or five — young people trying to ward off the chill after waiting, some of them, 85 hours for the slim chance of a job.

Except for a radio playing or a laugh here and there, the street was nearly silent, everyone waiting, anxious.

I asked a Black woman who looked about 25 years old how long she had been there.

"Since late Sunday — about a day and a half."

Was she working now?

"Yeah, for Conrail as a coach-cleaner. But Conrail's being changed around a lot these days and I don't feel like I have any security. The unions don't help me any."

I told her Conrail laid me off last June and I haven't worked since.

"Yeah, see, that's what I mean."

A younger guy nearby heard us talking and came over to ask for a *Militant*.

Was he working now, too?

"No, I haven't had anything really for three years. I just sell Jordache jeans on the sidewalk when I can."

A couple of blocks up 26th Street, Diane was standing next to a barrel fire talking to three young men who had become friends after living together for three days in the cold and rain.

Two men were Black. The third was from an Italian family in the Bayridge section of Brooklyn.

"It's always *who* you know, not *what* you know. I got the skills. I can do this job," one of the Black men told Diane.

The white man, who was younger than his friend, laughed.

"Maybe for you. But I *don't* know anything. I need to know someone with a connection. But I *don't*."

Diane told them she was the socialist candidate for governor. She was campaigning, she said, because unless working people start running the government we'll all spend the rest of our lives in lines like this.

"I think socialism's okay. You know, social medical care and more jobs," the white youth told her. "But I like the idea of being able to work hard and get ahead."

His Black friend gave a short chuckle and said, "Where you been, man? It doesn't work like that. We work hard. *They* get ahead."

The first few dozen places in line were held by women. They had been trained as skilled carpenters by an organization called Women in Trades. They had been waiting the longest.

I asked some young men further back in the line if they resented the women being up in front.

Everyone I asked said no. Several jumped to their defense.

"Hey, they got the training, they got out here early for a spot. Everybody's the same on this line."

Another added, "Look, lots of those sisters got kids. They're serious about these jobs."

A young Puerto Rican was standing near the corner of Park Avenue South with a container of coffee.

Was he working?

"I'm a carpenter now. Up in the Bronx. The only thing is I *don't* get any benefits — no sick pay, no vacations, no retirement. That's why I want to be in the union."

Diane asked him how many carpenters could be put to work just in the South Bronx alone.

"All those buildings to rehab? All the ones to just tear down and rebuild?" He rolled his eyes back and smiled at us.

"Thousands, many thousands."



Militant/Charles Ostrofsky
Sue Skinner, socialist oil worker running for Congress.

vide jobs, she proposes shortening the workweek with no cut in pay and establishing a public works program financed by the billions of dollars in the defense budget. Skinner is for nationalizing industries that lay off or shut down and continuing their operation under the control of working people instead of profiteers.

"She is against military spending to prop up dictatorships abroad. Skinner proposes pulling the U.S. out of Latin America and ending trade embargos against countries that need American-produced goods.

"Enclosed is a brochure that more fully explains Skinner's positions. Please share this letter and brochure with your membership.

"For these reasons we are supporting Skinner for Congress and urge you to do the same. It is important for the labor movement to hear a discussion of these ideas. We encourage you to invite Skinner to address your union meetings and gatherings."

Signing the letter were D.W. Bradley and Gordon Niedbalski, vice-presidents of Local 7-346; Mike Ferner, Toledo AFL-CIO Council delegate and steward, American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees Local 544; Tony Hall, OCAW international representative; and Charlie Johnson, United Auto Workers Local 12.

BY SAM MANUEL

SEASIDE, Calif. — An apparently large Black voter turnout resulted in a majority Black city council in this Monterey Bay city. The previous city council was majority white.

Lance McClair, an investigator for the Public Defenders Office, was elected mayor along with Thbron Polite, a county deputy sheriff, for the city council. Both candidates received the backing of the Democratic Party, the Black Ministerial Alliance, and local Black Democratic organizations. Just two years earlier, fed up with the racist majority white council, working people both Black and white elected socialist Mel Mason. Mason, himself a candidate for governor of California in the November 2 elections, endorsed and campaigned for independent candidates

Shirley Rainer for mayor and Henry Fryson for city council. Rainer received 239 votes for 4.6 percent of the vote, and Fryson got 533 votes for 6 percent of the vote. Mason's seat on the city council was not up in this election and he will continue to serve until 1984.

Thirty campaign supporters gathered at the home of Mason as the returns came in. The spirited group cheered as Mason explained, "Our campaign does not end tonight. We are just beginning, because after the campaign Fryson, Rainer, and I will be doing what we did during the campaign — building a movement of working people against war, unemployment, and racism and for a government of the working people."

Earlier that day at the polls campaign supporters distributed materials and sold 55 copies of the *Militant* newspaper.

Election results in Seaside, Calif.

"As working men and women, we believe that the only solution for us is to support Sue Skinner's campaign. A labor party in this country is an idea whose time has come; in fact, is long overdue. We have let corporate fat cats and lawyers run our country long enough. Look at the mess they've made of it. It is time to rely on ourselves. Skinner is running on the Socialist Workers ticket and is campaigning for the formation of a labor party in this country.

"Skinner not only supports a labor party, but campaigns for programs that will solve the problems we face today. To pro-

Fall Militant/PM Sales Goal



45,000

Should be: 28,125

Week 5: 35,567 sold to date

As the accompanying scoreboard shows, the results of the first week of our 10-day pre-election mobilization indicate a big step forward in our circulation.

Convinced that workers and farmers are looking for a political perspective different from the same old Democratic and Republican bilge, socialist campaigners took the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* to plant gates, unemployment lines, communities, campuses, and country stores across America.

Thousands of people bought copies of the socialist press last week, and many more took campaign literature for Socialist Workers Party candidates.

Many areas doubled or tripled their normal weekly sales. In Philadelphia, where members of the SWP and the Young Socialist Alliance had adopted the audacious goal of selling 1,000 *Militants* and *PMs* in the 10 days, 1,072 have been sold in the first week. This total includes 37 *Militants* and 14 *PM* subscriptions. Two hundred *Militants* were sold at unemployment offices, and 62 papers were sold at plant gates.

Socialists in Washington, D.C. sold the second-highest total number of papers: 565 *Militants* and 161 *PMs* in the first week of the mobilization.

Selling at an antinuclear rally

In Minneapolis, socialists sold the *Militant* at a rally of 1,500 organized in support of the nuclear freeze campaign. Salespeople report that many of those attending the rally were interested in the socialist strategy for getting rid of nuclear weapons and ending war. They sold the issue of the *Militant* with the centerspread titled, "Why bilateral nuclear freeze will not bring world peace any closer." More than 100 *Militants* were sold.

Big breakthrough 'PM' sales

More than 1,000 copies of *Perspectiva Mundial* were sold during this mobilization week. This is the highest weekly sales of *PM* since August 1979, when a special issue of the magazine was published hailing the overthrow of the Somoza regime by the workers and farmers in Nicaragua.

Copies of the Spanish-language socialist magazine were sold to

workers at garment shops in half a dozen cities; to civilian workers at Kelly Air Force Base in San Antonio, Texas; to Ford workers in Detroit; to farmworkers in Florida, New York; and at unemployment offices in Miami.

Sixty copies of the biweekly magazine were sold at plant gates in Washington, D.C., alone.

As it becomes better known among Spanish-speaking workers in the United States, *Perspectiva Mundial* is more and more useful as a political tool in the fight to transform the U.S. labor movement, build a labor party, and establish a government of workers and farmers in this country.

Plant gate campaigning

Sales at plant gates and to co-workers continue to grow. In the first week of the campaign mobilization, Manhattan socialists sold 231 *Militants* and *PMs* at plant gates and on the job. This amounted to 50 percent of their total sales of 458.

In Winston-Salem, North Carolina, 14 papers were sold by supporters of Meryl Lynn Farber, SWP candidate for U.S. Congress in the 5th District, at the Teamster-organized Gilbarco plant where she works.

Fifteen papers were sold at the big General Electric plant in Schenectady, New York. Ten more were sold at a unionized plant that makes Coleco video games.

In Detroit, socialist sold to Chrysler workers both at the United Auto Workers-organized Sterling Heights stamping plant, and door to door in working-class communities.

—BY LEE MARTINDALE

SALES SCOREBOARD

Area	(Militant issue #40, PM issue #19)			
	Militant Goal/Sold	PM Goal/Sold	Total Goal/Sold	%
Philadelphia	200/948	20/124	220/1,072	487
Wash., D.C.	160/565	25/161	185/726	392
Harrisburg	50/136	5/10	55/146	265
St. Louis	150/359	0/0	150/359	239
Miami	85/227	15/10	100/237	237
Twin Cities	195/460	5/0	200/460	230
Piedmont	90/201	0/0	90/201	223
Dallas	45/91	30/62	75/153	204
Iron Range	50/102	0/0	50/102	204
Schenectady	100/197	2/8	102/205	201
Oakland	100/203	10/12	110/215	195
Seaside	45/90	5/7	50/97	194
Phoenix	120/243	55/92	175/335	191
San Antonio	75/119	35/88	110/207	188
Cincinnati	90/169	0/0	90/169	188
Atlanta	120/217	5/1	125/218	174
Morgantown	85/147	0/0	85/147	173
Pittsburgh	225/333	0/6	225/339	151
Detroit	90/133	10/17	100/150	150
Price	55/78	5/10	60/88	147
Salt Lake City	90/130	5/5	95/135	142
Los Angeles	125/124	40/110	165/234	142
Albuquerque	55/85	10/5	65/90	138
Tidewater	90/124	0/0	90/124	138
Lincoln	60/80	0/1	60/81	135
Houston	90/117	25/37	115/154	134
Newark	145/178	45/75	190/253	133
Milwaukee	185/242	15/10	200/252	126
Louisville	80/100	0/0	80/100	125
San Francisco	100/140	30/21	130/161	124
San Jose	90/115	20/21	110/136	124
Toledo	70/81	0/0	70/81	116
Boston	135/142	15/30	150/172	115
Manhattan	300/319	100/139	400/458	115
Birmingham	110/125	0/0	110/125	114
Baltimore	300/338	0/0	300/338	113
Brooklyn	175/187	50/58	225/245	109
Charleston	70/75	0/0	70/75	107
New Orleans	100/106	0/1	100/107	107
Denver	100/96	10/20	110/116	105
Chicago	140/142	20/26	160/168	105
Portland	60/61	0/0	60/61	102
Tucson	35/45	25/16	60/61	102
Gary	65/68	5/3	70/71	101
Indianapolis	90/90	0/0	90/90	100
Kansas City	90/91	5/4	95/95	100
San Diego	65/65	15/9	80/74	93
Cleveland	105/87	10/1	115/88	77
Seattle	105/69	5/0	110/69	63
Totals	5,355/8,640	677/1,200	6,032/9,840	164

Socialist campaigns take 'poll' among workers



BY BRUCE LESNICK

On the eve of the November 2 elections, news commentators and pollsters of all stripes were scrambling to predict which of the two big-business parties would make the most gains. Many understood that these polls more accurately reflected which of the two parties working people hated the least, the Democrats or the Republicans. But members and supporters of the Socialist Workers Party tested the pulse of the American working people in a different way. Socialist campaign and sales teams fanned out across the country to industrial towns, campuses, and rural communities, posing questions and offering solutions that don't get reflected in the official surveys.

One joint team of Baltimore and Washington, D.C., campaigners set out for Frederick, Maryland, a small industrial town in the western part of the state. Their first stop was the plant gate of the East Alco Aluminum Co.

In the pouring rain, they explained, "We think it's time workers take the government out of the hands of the Democrats and Republicans. We need a workers and farmers government." Twenty-nine aluminum workers expressed agreement by stopping their cars to buy copies of the *Militant*.

In nearby Hagerstown, two teams sold 68 papers to rail workers, auto workers, garment workers, and others. Fifteen were sold at the Hagerstown unemployment office, several to some of the 1,400 laid-off workers from the city's big Mack Truck plant.

Baltimore and D.C. campaigners also found workers on Maryland's eastern shore who are fed up with "politics as usual" and open to socialist ideas. A team to the area sold 20 *Militants* to members of the United Food and Commercial Workers at the Campbell's Soup Co. cannery. Fifteen

others were sold at the United Auto Workers-organized Dresser plant in town.

Cincinnati socialists fielded teams to Dayton, Columbus, Hamilton, and Batavia, Ohio, in the week before election day. Forty-two papers were sold at unemployment offices in the various cities. Team members met one laid-off worker who had seen the *Militant* before. Formerly an employee of Interlake Steel Co. in northern Kentucky, he was one of 1,000 workers who were shown the door. They refused to bow to company demands that Interlake be exempt from the basic steel agreement negotiated with the United Steelworkers. When the company failed to pressure workers into voting for the union-busting provision in their contract, the plant was shut down. One year later, the factory was reopened under a different management, with half the work force, and without the protection of the basic steel agreement.

"I used to know a guy who sold those papers where I worked," Collins said, referring to the *Militant*. "We used to get into arguments all the time. He was on one side and I was always on the other. Now I think he was right more often than I was, so I'd better buy a copy."

In the West, a socialist team from Price, Utah, traveled to Kayenta, Arizona. They found a town dominated by the Peabody Coal Co. whose open-pit mines lie right smack in the middle of Navajo Indian land. In spite of the jobs the mines provide, most people in Kayenta are poor, some living in mud huts. Many Navajos were angered at the destruction of their land by the coal company. Ten subscriptions and 11 single copies of the *Militant* were sold.

Socialist campaigners met with a similar response in western Colorado. Forty-three *Militants* and one copy of *Perspectiva*

Mundial were sold in Paonia and the surrounding towns, chiefly to miners.

In the rural up-state New York town of Florida, a campaign team headed by socialist gubernatorial candidate Diane Wang discussed politics with migrant farm laborers. Nineteen copies of the *Militant* and two *PMs* were sold campaigning door-to-door through the workers' barracks-like housing. One Latino farm worker was hesitant to buy a revolutionary paper. "We were meant to work the land," he said. "It's our destiny." Wang answered, "You know, in Nicaragua, the people who work the land also run the government."

"You got me there," the worker admitted as he pulled out the money for a copy of *PM*.

A team in Illinois sold 23 *Militants* on the picket lines to strikers at a large Caterpillar plant in Peoria. One of the team members, is a striking Caterpillar worker himself from Aurora, Illinois. He first heard about the *Militant* three years ago when sales people brought copies to the picket lines during the 1979 Caterpillar strike.

As we can see, most preelection surveys failed to explain what many workers have come to understand. Whenever election day rolls around, the Democrats, Republicans, and their big-business backers usually win, while workers and farmers lose. But the teams of socialist salespeople that spread throughout the country last week confirmed a trend that no capitalist pollster could afford to predict. There are a few more working people, fed up with war, recession, layoffs, poverty, and police brutality, who are beginning to point their finger at capitalism as the source of the problem. And they are more willing than ever to consider seriously the socialist alternative that the *Militant* and *PM* present.



Socialist senatorial candidate Steve Wattenmaker selling *Perspectiva Mundial* in New York.

Socialist candidates decry 'anticrime' scam

BY STEVE BRIDE

NEW YORK — For New York state's Democratic and Republican parties, this election campaign consisted mainly of parading candidates across a TV screen and having them hammer away with one or another "anticrime" proposal.

This was part of their effort to persuade workers that problems created by capitalism can be solved by throwing more people in jail or the gas chamber.

But during a final swing through the state, candidates of the Socialist Workers Party found this effort hadn't been all that successful. Working people have other things on their mind.

"The Democrats and Republicans play up the 'crime' issue in order to hide their own very real crimes," SWP gubernatorial candidate Diane Wang told members of the American Federation of Government Employees at an October 19 meeting in New York City.

"Unemployment, racism, war in the Midwest, war in Central America — these are the real crimes, and the two parties of big business are guilty of them."

This brought applause from the 50 or so unionists present.

Debating the draft

Upstate, in the rural community of Norwich, the matter of war was also on the agenda during a recent debate between representatives of U.S. Senate candidates.

The Democratic and Republican speakers ignored wars that are going on at the moment that Washington is involved in or supporting.

Speaking for SWP candidate Steve Wattenmaker was 22-year-old Mike Fitzsimmons.

Fitzsimmons, an electrical worker, has refused to register for the draft. He has been the subject of numerous articles and interviews in the Albany-Schenectady area, and is well-known there.

He began by pointing out that the greatest nuclear danger arises from the escalation of the kind of wars Washington is waging right now. Then he turned to the representatives of the other campaigns.

"Do you support my right not to register for the draft?" he asked.

The crowd of about 150 demanded an answer from the other speakers, but never got one. Afterward, many of those listening gathered around Fitzsimmons. Most said they would vote socialist for Senate. "He's our future," said one woman of the young worker. "What an encouraging thing."

At Queens College, Wattenmaker himself addressed 150 people at a candidate's debate on the nuclear issue. Responding to a Republican Party speaker who had defended the nuclear buildup on the basis of his record in World War II, Wattenmaker said: "I was in the military too. And like many other GIs, I spent part of my time in the military marching against the Vietnam War. I think this is more patriotic than any flag-waving or nuclear saber rattling." His remark was followed by applause.

Wattenmaker's politics were apparently less popular with the League of Women Voters. They excluded him from an October 22 debate between senatorial candidates Patrick Moynihan, a Democrat, and Re-

publican Florence Sullivan. Wattenmaker showed up at the debate, held in Albany, anyway. He and his supporters passed out a statement protesting his exclusion, and afterward he confronted Moynihan and Sullivan in the presence of reporters. The fact of Wattenmaker's exclusion was noted in all media coverage of the debate.

Working farmers

The socialists' campaign has turned on one theme: The only government that will ever do anything for workers and farmers is a government of workers and farmers. In the town of Amsterdam, near Schenectady, this theme sparked particular interest among working farmers.

About 18 months ago, a bill was introduced in the state legislature calling for 100 percent valuation of farmland. This means that property taxes would be based on 100 percent value of the land compared to the much lower valuation than it had been.

A farmers' tractorcade to Albany managed to defeat the bill then. Now, however, 100 percent valuation is being imposed by county governments.

The effect of this will be to increase some farmers' property taxes by as much as 600 percent. Corporations like Beech Nut and Life Savers, meanwhile, will see their taxes lowered.

In an October 25 news conference in Amsterdam and in an October 26 radio interview in Albany, Diane Wang denounced the move to increase the tax burden on farmers, proposing instead a "100 percent valuation of corporate profits." This, she said, would be the stance of a workers and farmers government.

Next day, the SWP's lieutenant governor candidate, Peter Thierjung, was on the same show. His time had to be extended from 20 minutes to 90, so he could field all the calls prompted by the socialists' ideas.

Their proposals also prompted one Amsterdam resident, a retired electrical worker, to drive to the socialists' campaign offices in Schenectady and donate \$300.

Talking with auto workers

Wang, meanwhile, had journeyed 130 miles downstate, to the General Motors assembly plant in Tarrytown. With her was Wells Todd, the SWP's 1981 candidate for New York City mayor, who was laid off from Tarrytown in September along with the rest of the 2,000 workers on second shift.

At the plant, much of the talk was about the recent vote by Chrysler workers to reject the contract offered by the company. Workers listened as Wang, a garment worker, said what she thought.

"The Chrysler workers said, in effect, 'We're mad as hell and we're not going to take it anymore.' When we start doing that politically, then we'll get somewhere."

"We're not, as the auto bosses claim, 'all in this together.' There are a few who have money and millions of us who work for a living. We need to chart our own path, a path of independent political action that unifies our class. The first step on that path is to organize our own political party: a labor party."

"Our problems require a political solution. They can't be solved by one person's promises or by one union."

Response wonderful to our press fund

BY HARRY RING

Eleven weeks have now passed in our 21-week drive to raise a \$250,000 Socialist Publications Fund to cope with the inflation-induced deficits of this paper, our Spanish-language sister publication *Perspectiva Mundial*, and *Intercontinental Press*, the international news magazine.

We launched this fund because we — and our supporters — were convinced that

As the graph indicates, we're doing very well, but the pace of collection must be increased in this last half of the drive.

More than a thousand members of the Socialist Workers Party, Young Socialist Alliance, and supporters have made pledges and most people are keeping up to schedule on payments. But there are a number of donors, some with pledges of \$500 and up, who have not yet begun their payments. This could cause a problem in successfully completing the drive.

This is particularly so because the last period of the drive coincides with the year-end holiday period. That's generally when money gets scarcer as a result of gift-giving, travel, as well as seasonal layoffs, which this year are likely to be heavier. And of course many of our supporters plan to attend the Young Socialist Alliance national convention in Chicago over the holidays, which will be an additional expense.

So, for all these reasons, we're appealing to our supporters for a catch-up effort. What we would like to do is reach the 75 percent mark in the fund drive by Thanksgiving week, or even get a bit ahead of schedule.

Certainly the purpose merits the effort. That's fully confirmed by the really large pledges people have made at a time when it's difficult for most working people to give such big amounts.

We can be proud of the political commitment of our supporters and their readiness to pitch in financially. We think the letter published here illustrates why we can be confident that we'll be on schedule by Thanksgiving and, by December 31, will have completed the fund in full and on time.

Enclosed is my contribution of:

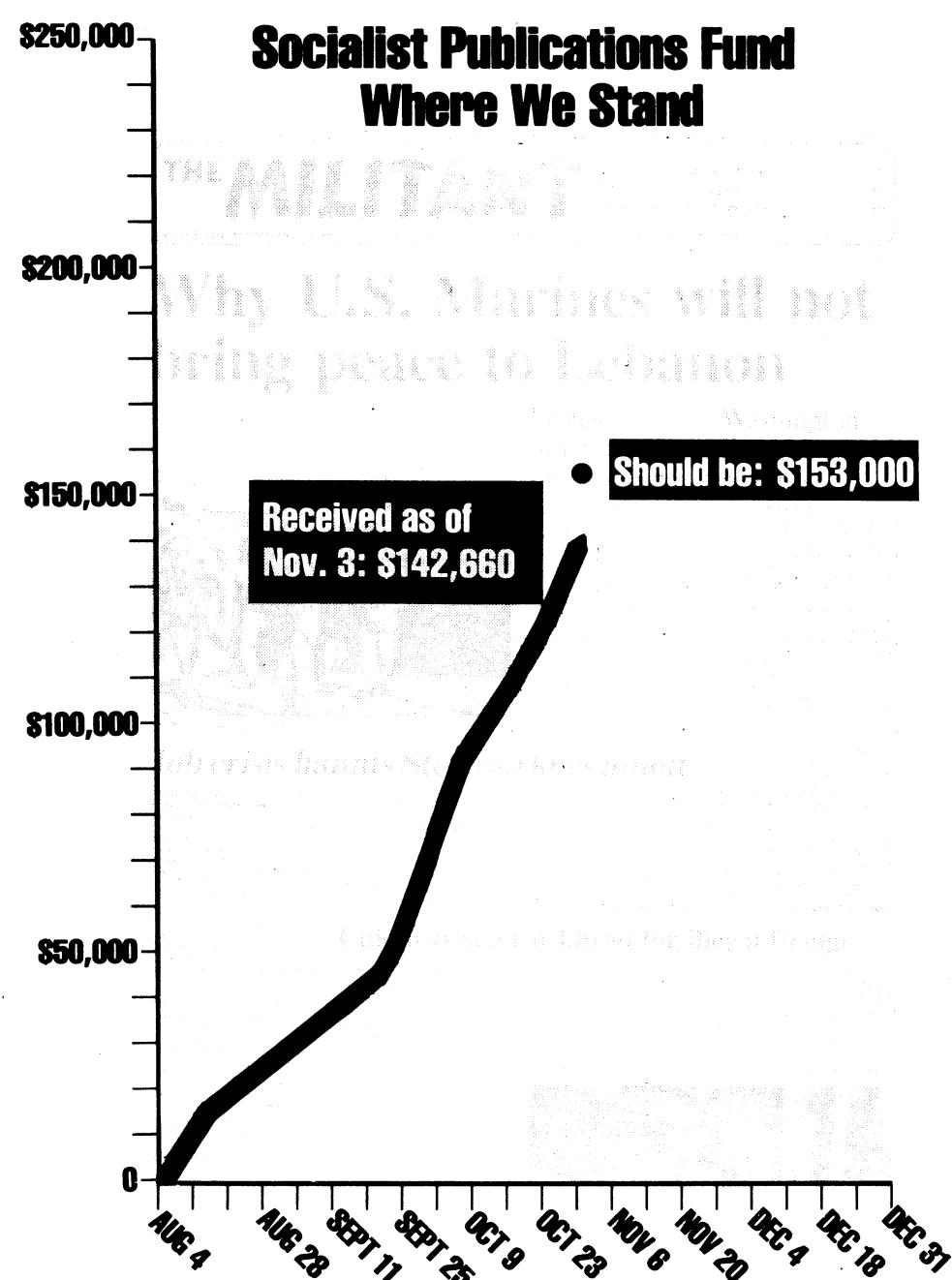
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Make checks payable to:

Socialist Publications Fund, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.



Tijuana mtg. forms antiwar coalition

Continued from Page 1

eral representatives of the Committee in Solidarity With the People of El Salvador (CISPES) were present.

Among the U.S. participants were garment workers, machinists, teamsters, and rail workers, as well as representatives of Chicano student groups and other campus organizations.

The new organization established at the conference here is known as the Mexico-U.S. Border Conference in Solidarity With the Salvadoran People. It is formally affiliated to the World Front in Solidarity with the Salvadoran People, which was established in March of this year at an international conference in Mexico City convened by the Mexican solidarity committee.

January 22 actions called

The conference here voted to hold demonstrations against U.S. intervention in Central America on January 22. Marches and car caravans to the border will be followed by rallies in Tijuana, which is just south of San Diego, and in Ciudad Juarez, right across the border from El Paso, Texas.

Concerts and other fundraising activities are set to be held on March 2-8, the anniversary of the founding of the World Front.

The conference was unambiguous in its recognition of the fact that the fate of the revolution in El Salvador is bound up with the course of events in Central America and the Caribbean as a whole. A major theme of many of the speeches was the danger posed by the regionalization of the imperialist intervention in Central America, spilling across borders and drawing in regimes, such as the one in Honduras, that are prepared to do the bidding of U.S. imperialism.

Delegates called attention to the use of Honduran troops in El Salvador, and plans for the joint U.S.-Honduran military maneuvers scheduled for December, which pose a grave threat of widening the war already under way against the Nicaraguan revolution.

A representative of the Nicaraguan government was introduced here and was given a standing ovation amid chants of "If Nicaragua won, El Salvador will win too!"

Regionalization of war

The main resolution of the conference, in discussing the regionalization of U.S. intervention in Central America, declared that "the very essence of imperialism makes it impossible for it to resolve its conflicts with other nations in a framework of respect and self-determination. It makes imperialism forget the historical experi-

ence of its humiliating defeat and expulsion from Vietnam, and orients it more and more toward adventurist warlike acts. Within this context we denounce the preparations of imperialism to carry out a massive intervention in Central America."

The resolution detailed the U.S. moves to use the Honduran army "as the principal base of support for its sinister plans for the Central American region, especially toward Nicaragua, against whom intervention has practically been decided. For this purpose imperialism has armed the Honduran army to the teeth."

The resolution also condemned the plans by Washington "to convert the Costa Rican army into one more force of aggression against the revolutionary movements in Central America."

The resolution denounced the escalation of threats against Cuba, emphasizing that these are an integral part of the imperialist offensive against the peoples of the entire region. It explains that the recently passed Symms amendment, which legitimizes use of military force against Cuba; Reagan's phony Caribbean Basin aid plan; and the go-ahead for the construction of Radio Martí; "while having as their fundamental target Revolutionary Cuba, also in practice are aimed against the revolutionary process in Central America and the Caribbean."

The resolution states that "the basic declared purpose of this interventionist plan is therefore to destroy in the immediate future the Sandinista people's revolution, the FMLN, and through that, the Salvadoran revolution and the people's war led by the URNG [Guatemalan National Revolutionary Union] in Guatemala. Given this situation the repression has taken on a regional character. The reactionary governments of Central America, working in close coordination, indiscriminately pursue, jail, and murder the revolutionaries of those countries."

Problems for Washington

Victor Medrano of the FMLN-FDR told the conference it is not so easy for Washington to implement its plans in Central America. "There is no Israel in Central America," he said, which Washington can rely on as a bastion of reaction and counterrevolution.

"The relationship of forces in Central America does not favor imperialism" because a direct military intervention "would mean years of war for the imperialists," he explained.

And that, he predicted, "would mean reducing social spending in the U.S. It would mean greater social problems. It would mean also that any possibility of getting out of the economic crisis of imperialism would have to be pushed back for a long



Salvadoran troops training at U.S. base in Panama. Tijuana conference advanced struggle against U.S. intervention in Central America.

time and perhaps that would be the beginning of the end of imperialism."

Medrano stressed that the FMLN-FDR is willing to fight, arms in hand, as long as necessary to win the liberation of its country. It is only "a matter of time" before the government is overthrown, he said.

But Medrano continued, the FMLN-FDR is continuing to put forward its proposals for negotiations with the U.S. and the regime in El Salvador. He called special attention to the political initiative taken by the FMLN-FDR in presenting a proposal for negotiations in Mexico City, an offer which the U.S. government has rejected. (See story page 3.)

"We have always put forward the necessity of a political solution for El Salvador, because we start from the fact that the immense majority of our people are struggling to construct a more just society in which every individual, and the people as a whole, will have the right to live, and to a life with dignity, will be able to enjoy the material goods produced by the population and receive the benefits of culture and science."

But, he continued, "it is clear that the intervention of the U.S. government is the fundamental cause of the prolongation of the Salvadoran conflict, and is the obstacle to our people really determining their social and political destiny."

"The Reagan administration has stepped up its meddling in the affairs of the countries and the people of Central America, denying them their sovereign rights and the right to self-determination. Because of this the present conduct of the U.S. government severely threatens the peace of the region and of the whole world."

Fight for refugee rights

One of the most important decisions of the conference was to launch a campaign to fight for the rights of Salvadoran refugees in both Mexico and the United States.

With the intensification of the terror against the working people of El Salvador, more and more of them are fleeing their country, seeking asylum in the United States and Mexico.

The Plan of Action on Refugees adopted by the conference explained that "those refugees who manage to enter the U.S. join the ever-increasing number of undocumented workers who are exploited as cheap labor. This cheap labor pool allows North American capitalists to pay them little or nothing at all. Those workers do not receive any social services and are constantly subjected to inhuman conditions."

In addition, they are continually threatened with being reported to the immigration police if they complain. In this way, the INS [Immigration and Naturalization Service] forms part of the machinery which, along with big business, exploits these undocumented workers."

Salvadoran refugees trying to enter the United States are victimized by the border cops and smugglers. Waiting near the border, they are forced to live in unsanitary conditions, often paying \$25 a day for a filthy hotel room. They are forced to spend as much as \$500 to be brought across the border.

There have been a growing number of cases recently where Salvadoran refugees have been murdered by the smugglers, or left to die in the desert, or suffocated in the

trunk of a car or a sealed truck.

The plight of the refugees was a special concern for many at the conference who were Salvadoran refugees themselves, many with relatives still inside El Salvador.

The conference decided to launch a campaign to promote the creation of committees and associations in defense of the refugees, comprised of unions, religious, humanitarian, social, and political organizations.

In the United States, this campaign will focus on the demand for legal status for Salvadoran refugees, and the mobilization of opposition to the Simpson-Mazzoli immigration bill, which would impose a government identity card on all workers in this country, and also restrict further the right to political asylum.

Within Mexico, the campaign around refugees will center on the demand that the refugee detention center being constructed by the Mexican government in Mexicali be converted into a shelter for refugees that would house the refugees with their families, provide them with work, medical attention, and education. The conference also demanded that this center be administered jointly by a border commission, the United Nations High Commission on Refugees, the Red Cross, and the refugees themselves.

Unity and solidarity

The central goal of the organizers of the conference was to unite all those forces, on both sides of the border, who are ready to act together to block U.S. military intervention in Central America. Their goal is to help overcome some sectarian obstacles and organizational differences that have at times blocked united action in the United States. The conference took a big step forward in this direction, succeeding in its goal of beginning to draw a broad range of forces together in solidarity with the people of El Salvador.

As Gilberto Lopez y Rivas put it at the opening of the gathering, "This meeting expresses the fundamental character of the unity that is made possible by the coming together of the various political currents in one fighting front. Despite our differences, the interests of the Salvadoran revolution make us march on the same path in defense of the revolutionary process in El Salvador.

"Our solidarity work," he emphasized, "is based on a conception of solidarity that is part of the Salvadoran revolution. For this reason, our committee is ready to march and if necessary to fight internationally with this approach against imperialist intervention anywhere in Central America."

"This first conference will teach us to know each other better, to work together, to coordinate our work better. And we are sure that this small step we are taking here will play a role in the coming victory of the Salvadoran people, a victory that will be aided by the efforts of the workers of the world in support of the toiling people of El Salvador."

The Mexico-U.S. Border Conference in Solidarity with the Salvadoran People will organize the January 22 demonstration and the other activities agreed upon by the conference. It will also convene a second Mexico-U.S. Border Conference, which has been scheduled for the end of May 1983 in Tijuana.

Ariz. indicted victims of cop terror

BY NELSON GONZÁLEZ

On October 23 an army of cops from Cochise County invaded the predominantly Black community of Miracle Valley, Arizona, allegedly to serve a traffic warrant.

Two leaders of the 300-member Black Christ Miracle Healing Center and Church — Augusta Tate and William Thomas — were shot in the back. Several others were seriously wounded as a result of the cop rampage.

In typical example of racist justice, on October 29 indictments were handed down for 10 members of the church on 34 felony counts. The charges include aggravated assault and attempted murder against the police. An attorney for the cops said more indictments were possible. The 10 are currently in jail under \$68,500 bail each. They will be arraigned on November 8.

On October 27 Julius Gillespie, the new bishop of the Black community church, verified in a press conference that neither Thomas nor Tate nor any other church members in the vicinity were carrying weapons.

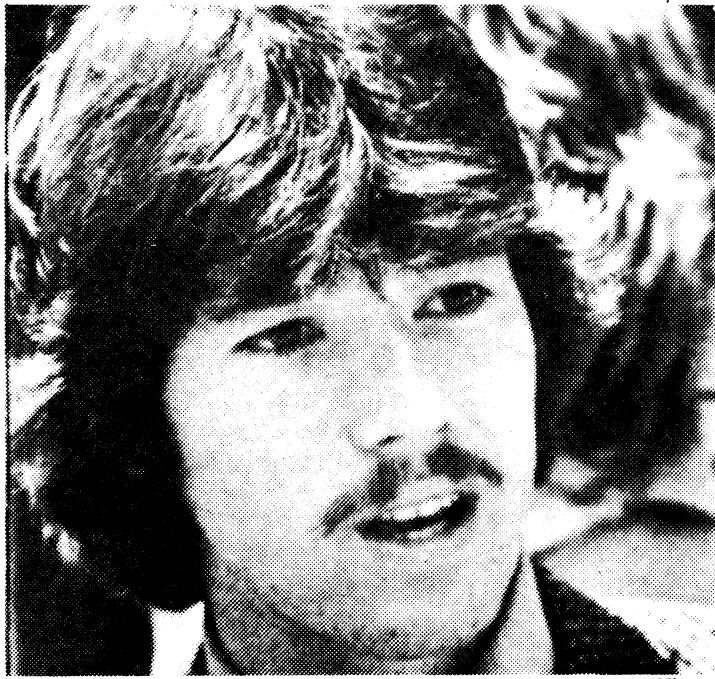
An autopsy performed on Tate and Thomas confirmed that they had been shot in the back.

Another Black who was shot now suffers a severed spinal column. According to de-

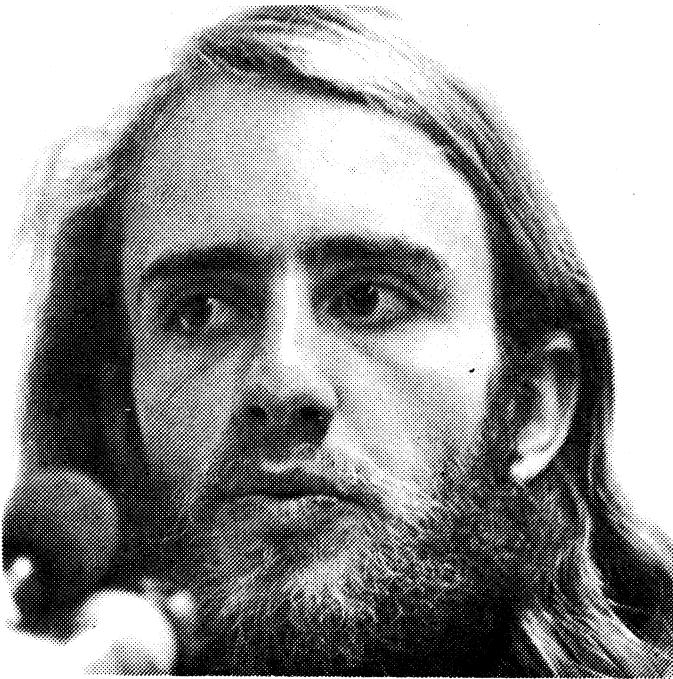


Bishop Julius Gillespie (left) and lawyer Stanley Hill.

Tug of war between gov't, draft resisters



Draft resisters Ben Sasway and David Wayte. Government wants to suppress their antiwar views.



Militant/Della Rossa

BY NELSON GONZÁLEZ

In May 1982 Maj. Gen. Thomas Turner, director of the Selective Service System, announced that the government was making a list of young men who had not registered for the draft in order to prosecute them for noncompliance.

Since then 13 young men have been indicted. Of the 13, four have already been convicted.

Enten Eller, a student at Bridgewater College in Virginia, was found guilty on August 17. He was sentenced to three years' probation, 250 hours community service, and was ordered to register in 90 days. Eller has stated that he does not plan to register at the end of the 90 days.

Benjamin Sasway, a 21-year-old political science major at Humboldt State University in California, had thoughts of becoming a farmer. Instead he became the first American since the Vietnam War to be jailed for his refusal to register. On October 4 Sasway was sentenced to two and a half years.

On October 19, Mark Schmucker, a Mennonite from Alliance, Ohio, was fined \$4,000 and sentenced to work for two years at a home for mentally retarded adults, with an additional year of probation.

And on October 27, Gary Eklund was convicted in Des Moines, Iowa. The nine others who have been indicted and await either arraignment or sentencing include David Wayte, a 21-year-old Los Angeles deliveryman; Gillam Kerley and Michael McMillan, both 21 and from Wisconsin; Chuck Epps and Kendall Workentine from North Newton, Kansas; Russell Martin, president of the student body at the University of Northern Iowa; Russell Ford, an ex-Wesleyan student from Connecticut; Ed Hasbrouk from Boston; and Paul Jacobs from Arkansas.

Their opposition to registration for the draft ranges from religious reasons such as Enten Eller's to moral and political reasons such as Benjamin Sasway's.

According to the October 25 *New York Times*, the reason the Reagan administration has selectively picked out a handful of draft resisters to prosecute is "in hopes of scaring others into compliance."

Who are these draft resisters and "others" that the Reagan administration is hoping to terrorize into fighting Washington's wars?

The 13 who have been indicted and the select group of 220 that have been targeted for political persecution represent the most public and most vocal opponents of the administration's war policy.

The administration's intent is to prosecute and make an example of those public draft resisters who they feel are the most vulnerable. At the same time the government wants to get rid of any open opposition that may serve as an example to others.

However, the administration's real target — beyond the 220 public draft resisters and even the 524,000 others who have refused to register — is the millions of young workers and farm youth who are dead set against ending up as cannon fodder for America's corporate executives.

In order to break down this resistance,

the government and the media have handled the prosecutions of draft resisters in a very coordinated way. During the court trials, their strategy has been to gag draft resisters, preventing them from expressing political opposition to American imperialism's war plans. The media has imposed a virtual blackout to prevent these antiwar views from getting a hearing among working people.

Take the case of Benjamin Sasway, a firm opponent of U.S. intervention in Nicaragua, El Salvador and Cuba. During his trial, Judge Gordon Thompson prevented Sasway from explaining to the jury that this was at the heart of his refusal to register for the draft.

Judge Thompson then jailed Sasway without bail, before the sentencing. The August 27 *New York Times* reported that Thompson felt "that by ordering Mr. Sasway to jail he was preventing him from wrongly trying to influence public opinion."

And to make doubly sure Sasway's antiwar views would cause no further trouble, shortly after sentencing Sasway, the judge ordered him not to urge others to violate the Selective Service law or associate with people who advocate nonregistration. Sasway is now out on \$10,000 bail, awaiting appeal of his conviction.

Judge tangles with Justice Dept.

In the case of David Wayte, Los Angeles federal Judge Terry Hatter has threatened to hold the Justice Department in contempt because of its continued criticism of the way he is handling the case. What the Justice Department is mad about is that Judge Hatter ordered the government to produce

documents that outline the procedure for selecting those draft resisters who are to be prosecuted. He also ordered Special Council to the president, Edwin Meese, to appear before the court to testify on his role in determining this procedure.

In previous testimony in the case, David Kline, a senior legal official in the Justice Department, testified that among the many letters and memos from the Justice Department was one pointing out that only the "willful refusals" and the "most adamant" should be prosecuted.

Under tremendous pressure, the government has agreed to produce the documents for the judge's use only and will make someone available from the Selective Service System to testify.

Bill Smith, one of David Wayte's lawyers, told an October 11 antidraft rally, "Never has the government spent so much time and resources to put people like David in jail. They don't want to see a group of draft resisters — leaders — speaking out in public, because they know the draft resistance movement will grow."

And at the heart of this effort is the fact that while Washington right now has the capacity to militarily intervene anywhere around the world, it must reinstitute the draft in order to wage a Vietnam-style war to the finish.

A total of 8 million members of the armed forces participated in Washington's war against the Vietnamese, nearly three times the amount of personnel currently in the military. And this was only one war.

U.S. imperialism needs the draft to organize the massive armed forces it needs to protect the investments of corporate America around the world. Chief among its

goals is to drive back the unfolding anti-capitalist revolutions in Central America and the Caribbean, as well as the liberation struggles in other parts of the Third World.

Even without the draft, Washington is already deploying troops in wars abroad — the thousands in Lebanon and the rest of the Middle East and the growing number of advisers and soldiers in Central America are two examples. As the U.S. warmakers escalate their involvement in these conflicts, they will use each increase in troops to try to further justify the need for a draftee army.

They will do so knowing they are already paying a big political price for their policies.

Despite the 13 indictments and the convictions, despite the threats of a five-year jail term and \$10,000 fine, despite the threat to make draft resisters ineligible for student loans, the Selective Service System reports that 524,000 young men across the country have still refused to register for the draft.

According to the October 17 *Des Moines, Iowa, Register*, Betty Alexander of the Selective Service System maintains that since prosecutions began in the summer there is no evidence suggesting any change in the rate of registration.

And the September 1 *Washington Post* made a telling point when it said that "Mr. Sasway and, we suspect, most of those young men in violation of the law do not claim religious objection. Their objections to the draft registration law are political." To this the *Post* should have added that Sasway and the 524,000 others represent only a fraction of the millions of Americans who clearly want "Money for jobs, not for war."

No to war, concessions

Washington is bumping up against a firm "no" to war and the draft from young workers just like those at Chrysler who are also saying "no" to concessions in their standard of living.

In this context the government's moves to prosecute draft resisters is being made from a position of weakness. This explains the Justice Department's step-by-step, cautious approach to the indictment of resisters.

Washington's caution is born out of the fear of igniting antiwar sentiment into an open and massive opposition which could mobilize the ranks of organized labor.

Helping antidraft and antiwar activists expose registration for the draft as the prelude for new Vietnams, and exposing the link between Washington's wars abroad and Washington's war against working people here at home is the most important contribution that can be made toward organizing a powerful movement in opposition to war and the draft.

Sailors join Chicago antiwar protest

BY JON HILLSON
AND KIM KLEINMAN

NORTH CHICAGO, Ill. — A demonstration of 800 people took place at the Great Lakes Naval Training Center here October 23. The action was organized by the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador and supported by a number of peace, solidarity, antiwar, and veterans organizations in Chicago, Milwaukee, and the North Chicago-Waukegan area.

The demonstration protested U.S. military intervention in Central America, demanding funding for human needs not for the Pentagon, and opposed draft registration.

The action drew scores of Latinos, a contingent of Vietnam Veterans Against the War, a group of Palestinians, high school and college students, and an array of political activists.

Significantly, 10 nonuniformed sailors from the training center itself participated in the demonstration. And as the demonstrators passed by the naval installation, many sailors waved clenched fists and cheered them on.

The solidarity offered by the sailors to the marchers came despite attempts by the base commander to smear the demonstra-

tion and prevent sailors from participating in it.

This campaign began in response to leafleting teams that were successfully publicizing the demonstration among sailors.

Apparently on the defensive, base commander James T. Flately felt compelled to mention the demonstration in a column he wrote in the *Great Lakes Bulletin*, a paper widely distributed on the base. Flately grudgingly recognized the right of sailors to attend the demonstration.

But in subsequent articles, Flately blasted the action. He urged his readers to pick up Arnaud de Borchgrave's book, *The Spike*, which fictionally claims to prove the anti-Vietnam War movement of the 1960s and 1970s was a product of "Soviet disinformation."

On the eve of the action, he warned sailors that "the more organized and not so naive liberal-left elements in the rallying ranks . . . [are] something to be truly concerned about and stay informed about."

Inside the base, sailors were told that the demonstration site was off limits, rumors were circulated that the action would be antisailor, and even that rally organizers were planning to come on to the base from an amphibious landing on the shores of Lake Michigan.

In addition, a deal hatched by the base command and the North Chicago city government resulted in the closing of the naval center gate closest to the march route.

Nevertheless, 10 off-duty sailors attended the rally, while many others viewed the action favorably. As one sailor put it, "When my platoon leader said I couldn't come, I knew I was going to go and find out what was happening."

On the march antiwar activists and sailors engaged in scores of political discussions.

One young sailor related that when confronted with draft registration he filed as a conscientious objector. But when both his parents were laid off from Conrail, he decided to join the Navy in the hopes of gaining a skill to support his family.

Another sailor said he joined the Navy to learn enough about engines to join his father on the line in an auto plant in Dayton, Ohio. Another sailor, when asked why he joined the Navy, pointed out, "Yeah, maybe I was a little dumb, but I was a lot broke. Half my [naval training] class is from Michigan. You've heard about unemployment in Michigan, haven't you?"

It was clear that the sailors felt at home and part of the demonstration.

Steel agreement with Europe won't save jobs



U.S. steel jobs won't be saved at price of jobs in French plants such as this Longwy steel mill.

BY WILLIAM GOTTLIEB

On October 21 President Reagan announced that an agreement to limit steel imports had been reached with the European Common Market. According to the agreement, imports of European steel will be held to 5.12 percent of the U.S. market for the next three years. This compares with the current West European share of 6 percent. The U.S. steel corporations had complained that the European steel companies were dumping (that is selling at cut rate prices) in the U.S. market. Washington would have retaliated by imposing high tariffs on European steel if agreement had not been reached.

The Reagan administration claims that this will help restore the jobs of steelworkers. With unemployment in the steel industry currently at about 45 percent, steelworkers would certainly welcome any-

thing that would increase employment. But the notion that the steel import agreement with Europe will increase jobs is a fraud from beginning to end. It actually means higher prices and fewer jobs.

Why is this so?

The collapse of the world market demand for steel — a result of the general crisis of overproduction — has greatly increased competition among U.S., European, and Japanese steel corporations. This has put increasing downward pressure on the price of steel. Seeing their profits thus threatened, the U.S. steel companies have been pushing for an agreement with the steel producers in Europe and Japan to divide up the world steel market. If successful, this will mean the price of steel will be kept high. The profits of owners of the steel corporations may thus be safeguarded, at least temporarily.

While workers and farmers don't buy steel in its pure form they buy many commodities that contain steel. For example, cars, farm implements, and household appliances contain steel. Even commodities that don't contain steel are produced with the help of machinery that does. Therefore, the price of steel enters into the price of virtually all products.

Besides increasing the prices of many commodities, the artificial maintenance of the high price of steel will tend to further depress economic activity.

Take the auto industry for example. Production and employment are low in this industry because the auto bosses can't sell many cars at profitable prices. If the price of steel — an important raw material — rises, the auto companies will increase prices still more in order to make profits. But with demand already depressed, higher auto prices will mean even fewer cars are sold. Production and employment will be further reduced. It's a vicious circle. And what's true of cars is true of all steel-intensive products. Higher steel prices mean higher prices for consumers and fewer jobs for workers.

Even if a few jobs were saved in the steel industry more jobs would be lost in other branches of industry.

But there is no reason to think that the agreement limiting European imports of steel will save any steel jobs.

For example, Japanese imports of steel to the U.S. fell 52 percent this September from the same month a year earlier. Yet this has not prevented the worst steel depression since the 1930s.

Let's assume that a few steel jobs were actually saved — but at the expense of increased unemployment among French or German steelworkers. The steel bosses and the Democratic and Republican politicians in this country will say that the national interest was served. But the national interests are always the profit interest of the bosses.

U.S. steelworkers have nothing in common with the steel bosses, whatever their nationality. U.S. workers do have a lot in common with the steel and other workers of the rest of the world. They are all victimized by the steel imports agreement. In the long run, U.S. workers win nothing when they get sucked into the employers' phony scheme of providing jobs by taking them away from workers of other countries. Solidarity is a false solidarity if it isn't international solidarity. And without solidarity the workers are helpless against the bosses.

Federal workers denied abortion funds

BY MARGARET JAYKO

Congress and the courts have made several decisions recently that are designed to sharply restrict the constitutional right of women to decide if they want an abortion.

There are three examples just in the last couple of months.

On October 1, the U.S. Congress, in a bipartisan move, passed a federal funding bill which contained a rider banning Federal Employees Health Benefits (FEHB) plans from paying for "non-emergency" abortions.

The director of the Office of Personnel Management in Washington, D.C., Donald Devine, is an ardent foe of abortion rights. On October 12, he notified officials in the FEHB program that starting next year, they cannot pay for abortions for federal workers or their dependents unless the operation is necessary to save the woman's life.

Among the unions affected by this violation of their contract are: American Federation of Government Employees, National Federation of Federal Employees, American Postal Workers Union, National Association of Letter Carriers, National Rural Letter Carriers' Association, National Alliance of Postal and Federal Employees, and National Treasury Employees Union.

In 1980, government health plans paid an estimated \$9 million for approximately 17,000 abortions.

Another attack on abortion rights has occurred in Maryland.

On September 15, Chris Fritz obtained a temporary restraining order that prevented his wife, 20-year-old Bonny Fritz, from having an abortion. Bonny and Chris had recently separated, and Bonny was nine weeks pregnant. The Fritzes already had one child.

Bonny told the *Washington Post*, "I knew I was going to be separated and looking for a job. There was no way I could manage with two kids. So I finally decided that having an abortion was the best thing for me, right now."

While Bonny was in the operating room, about to have the abortion, her husband obtained the injunction, preventing her from having the operation.

Two days later, Bonny's attorney obtained a stay of the injunction from the Maryland appeals court.

Bonny went ahead and had her abortion — just in time. Her husband had returned to the appeals court and convinced the judge to overturn his previous stay and uphold the original injunction.

The Maryland Court of Appeals has now said that it will review the case early next year to rule on the substantive issues involved.

An important issue in this case is the justification used by the judge who originally denied Bonny the right to have an abortion. He held that Maryland's Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) gives husbands and wives equal right to decide whether to terminate a pregnancy. This is an utter perversion of the intent of the ERA — to give women full legal equality.

There is strong evidence to suggest that Chris Fritz was not acting on his own either in filing the case to begin with, or in continuing the prosecution of it.

His lawyer, Martin Palmer, is not charging for his legal services. Palmer openly admits that his intent is to directly challenge the 1973 U.S. Supreme Court decision that legalized abortion, and that he plans on pursuing this case all the way up to the Supreme Court "for the cause."

Bonny Fritz says that her husband had originally agreed to pay for the abortion, and then suddenly changed his mind, and got this high-priced New York lawyer, obviously an active opponent of abortion rights, to take the case for free.

In addition, the entire thing happened during "clinic invasion week," proclaimed by the organized anti-abortion rights forces as a time during which they intended to shut down every abortion clinic in the country. They were quite unsuccessful in their efforts. In many cities, they were outmobilized by supporters of women's rights.

Chris Fritz also argued that abortion violates Maryland's laws against child abuse,

since, Fritz claims, the fetus is a human being.

If the court upholds this argumentation, it would open the door to banning abortions outright, on the grounds that they constitute murder.

A similar argument was raised by probate Judge Randall Hekman in Grand Rapids, Michigan. He refused to approve an abortion for a pregnant 13-year-old on the grounds that it would be criminal to "kill innocent life for the expediency of others." There is no indication that the life of the 13-year-old was taken into account by the judge.

On October 28, Judge Robert Benson ruled that Judge Hekman was predisposed to decide against abortion and sent the case back to Probate Court for consideration by another judge. No date has been set for the new hearing.

The girl, who is 20 weeks pregnant, is a temporary ward of the court because of child neglect. According to the *New York Times*, her attorney testified that his client was unwavering in her wish to have an abortion because "she wanted to lead a normal life."

Protests hit antigay cop attack

BY ARTHUR HUGHES

NEW YORK — "We're fired up, we won't take it no more!" This chant echoed through the streets of Midtown here as a crowd of over 1,000 supporters of gay rights protested police brutality. The majority of marchers were Blacks and Latinos.

On September 29, a gang of 30 to 40 cops had raided Blue's, a Black gay bar, and mercilessly beat patrons, sending 15 to 20 of them to the hospital.

On the night of the demonstration, October 15, no less than 700 cops were on hand to watch over the militant crowd.

The fact that the raid was racist, as well as antigay, was reflected in the Times Square rally. Speakers from the Third World Alliance of Lesbians and Gay Men, Salsa Soul Sisters, Dykes Against Racism Everywhere, Metropolitan Community Church of Harlem, Black and White Men Together, and El Comité de Homosexuales Latino Americanos denounced the raid and demanded justice.

The protest had been called by the Lesbian and Gay Community Meeting around the demands that there be an independent investigation of the cop raid, an immediate end to cop terrorism, an apology by city officials, and financial compensation to the victims of the raid.

The raid on Blue's was the most brutal of a rising number of attacks on gay men and lesbians. These attacks include a threat by the New York State Liquor Authority to close down all lesbian bars. The Liquor Authority raided a lesbian bar, the Duchess, on September 8, confiscating its cash registers and handcuffing and arresting its staff. Its license had been revoked on the phony pretext that it "discriminated against men."

This raid paled in comparison to the bloodletting at Blue's. There the cops, after charging through the front door, locked

it, one pulling his service revolver and shouting, "Let's have a party. All you niggers to the back, hands up, face the wall." One customer relates, "They called us Black nigger fagots and said 'we should shoot a couple of you.' They beat us indiscriminately for nearly an hour while they were laughing and joking. There was blood all over the place."

Commenting on the big response on October 15 to the Blue's raid, Rev. Renee McCoy of the Metropolitan Community Church said, "What I think brought the Black and Third World people out was that they realized that something had to happen. Blue's has hammered home a belief for us that any Third World lesbian or gay man may be next. And the whites were there, I think, because there has been a growing understanding in the lesbian and gay community about racism, and because they realize that in this period none of us is safe."

400 hear PLO leader in St. Louis

BY HELEN SAVIO

ST. LOUIS — On October 18, nearly 400 people turned out to hear a presentation by Dr. Hatem Husseini, the deputy observer to the United Nations for the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO). He spoke on the "Future of Palestine after Beirut." The meeting was sponsored by Webster College and Webster College Social Action Collective.

Husseini spoke of the war in Lebanon and the massacre in the Palestinian refugee camps. "This is a time of great agony and suffering for the Palestinian people," he said.

He recounted in some detail the history of the crimes committed by the Israeli state against the Palestinian people and pointed to the complicit role of the United States.

"This war cost Israel more than \$7 mil-

lion in three months, in the form of cluster bombs and phosphorous bombs, F-16's, tanks, and long-range artillery. This is \$7 million that the American taxpayers will pay to Israel, at a time when the budget is being cut in this country because they say there is no money for schools and welfare programs and economic and social programs.

"For war for Israel, for cluster bombs for Israel, for the Israeli generals and army; yes, they can get \$7 million dollars for economic and social development in this country."

The appearance of Dr. Husseini was a much needed opportunity for a Midwestern audience to hear firsthand a spokesperson for the Palestinians. He was effective throughout in cutting across the lies, distortions, and slanders fed to working people in this country through the media.

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the 'Militant'**



Grenadan Government Information Service
Construction of new rural feeder roads. Projects like this are critical to agricultural development in Grenada.

5 IRA supporters win in Northern Ireland vote

BY WILL REISSNER

Five members of Sinn Fein — the political party aligned with the Irish Republican Army (IRA) — were elected October 20 to the British-sponsored Northern Ireland Assembly. Their election again shows the mass support that exists for the IRA and its uncompromising struggle to free Northern Ireland from British rule.

Their victory also dashes the hopes of the British occupiers that a new assembly, with its built-in loyalist (pro-British) majority, would provide a semblance of legitimacy to continued colonial rule. Northern Ireland has been ruled directly from London since the local parliament was toppled in 1972 under the weight of the mass civil rights movement and the reemergence of the IRA as a political force in the occupied part of Ireland.

The Sinn Fein candidates vowed, if elected, to boycott the assembly, which is an institution of colonial domination. Three of the five candidates who won seats have spent time in British jails for their political activity.

Despite constant harassment of Sinn Fein campaign workers and candidates by the British army and police, the party received nearly 40 percent of the vote in Catholic areas.

Sinn Fein and other nationalist forces had initially called for a total boycott of the assembly elections by all forces claiming to represent the nationalist population of Northern Ireland.

The boycott was broken, however, when the Social Democratic and Labour Party (SDLP) announced it would run a slate of candidates. The SDLP claims to support the reunification of Ireland but abstains from the mass republican struggle and joins in the ruling-class condemnations of the IRA.



Irish republican Owen Carron was elected to assembly.

In response to the SDLP's announced participation, Sinn Fein decided to put up 12 candidates, the minimum required for television and radio time for its campaign.

For years the SDLP — using the fact that Sinn Fein boycotted all elections in Northern Ireland — has presented itself as the real leadership of the nationalist population. Being the only candidates with any ties to the Catholic community, the SDLP has received the votes of many people as a lesser evil to the Loyalists.

But since the 1981 hunger strike by 10 republican prisoners in British jails in Northern Ireland, the SDLP has no longer been able to represent the nationalist population by default. During the hunger strike, republicans put up hunger-striker Bobby Sands in an election for the British parliament, forcing the SDLP to withdraw its candidate. Following Sand's victory and subsequent death, the seat was won by republican Owen Carron, who refuses to serve in that body.

During the hunger strike, the SDLP was also challenged in local government elections. Pro-independence candidates of People's Democracy and the Irish Republican Socialist Party defeated well-known SDLP leaders for posts on the Belfast city council.

Among the Sinn Fein candidates elected to the Northern Ireland Assembly were Owen Carron; Gerry Adams, the vice-president of Sinn Fein and a leading spokesperson for the hunger strikers last year; and Danny Morrison, Sinn Fein's national director of publicity.

Sinn Fein has also announced it will run Gerry Adams in the upcoming election for the Belfast seat in the British parliament now held by Gerry Fitt, a longtime leader of the SDLP. If elected, Adams will refuse to take the seat.

The election results indicate that the demobilization of the nationalist population following the deaths of the 10 hunger strikers did not mark any ebb in republican sentiment. Bernadette Devlin McAliskey, a leading figure in the struggle for freedom in Northern Ireland, commented in New York on October 26: "We went through a very bad year after the hunger strike, which is very understandable politically, emotionally, and humanly. But the election shows that people have rolled up their sleeves and said 'Let's get at it again!'"

In its election manifesto, Sinn Fein calls for the reunification of Ireland and the establishment of "a thirty-two county, democratic, socialist republic."

Fourteen members of the SDLP were also elected to the assembly. Although they too pledged to boycott that body, Britain's Northern Ireland secretary of state, James Prior, hopes to change their minds. To that end he invited the elected SDLP candidates to take part in talks on the assembly's functioning, while pointedly excluding Sinn Fein from the invitation.

Grenada to receive French economic aid

During a three-day visit to France in mid-September, Grenadian Prime Minister Maurice Bishop reached agreement with the Mitterrand government on important French economic aid not only for Grenada but for all seven of the small island nations that make up the Organization of East Caribbean States (OECS).

The French government's Fund for Aid and Cooperation, currently budgeted at \$147 million, is to provide grants to Caribbean countries for the first time. In the past, the fund has been almost entirely limited to former French colonies in Africa.

Grenada will receive French assistance in the development of agriculture, agro-industries, food distribution, education, and public health. The French government also agreed to help in setting up a new television network; the island had no television before the 1979 revolution.

Agreements were also signed for the improvement of air transportation between Grenada and the French colonies of Martinique and Guadeloupe in the Caribbean.

In a news conference upon his return to Grenada, Prime Minister Bishop pointed out that while the Reagan administration's Caribbean Basin Initiative (CBI) is a "one-shot affair," the French aid will bring a "massive new injection of grant money into the seven island states of the Eastern Caribbean on a yearly basis."

In reporting on the aid agreement, the October 1 issue of the Grenadian weekly *New Jewel* noted: "The Grenada that Reagan and his warmongers claim is a threat to the security of the Caribbean is in fact more concerned about the well being of the region's peoples than the US. Washington's Caribbean Basin Initiative (CBI) seeks to use most of the US aid to this region to build up the war machinery of reactionary governments like the one in El Salvador. Countries genuinely interested in Social progress and justice like Grenada, Nicaragua and Cuba were left out of the [U.S.] plan."

In fact, of the \$350 million Reagan requested for the CBI, \$128 million was to go to the dictatorship in El Salvador, a country whose coasts do not even touch the Caribbean.

The October 2 issue of Grenada's *Free West Indian* reported the response of the People's Revolutionary Government to accusations by Prime Minister John Compton of the neighboring island of St. Lucia. Compton charged that Grenada was not interested in regional integration or regional unity.

"This statement is contradicted by reality," the Grenadian government replied. "As a matter of policy members of the PRG always seek whenever and wherever possible to make representation on behalf of Grenada's fellow Caricom [Caribbean Community] small states." The statement added that this "is part of a wide commit-

ment to the cause of small island and other specially disadvantaged states."

In addition to the French aid, Grenada has also been successful in recent months in obtaining development grants, loans, and markets for its products from other countries. During a July visit to Moscow, Bishop signed agreements for a \$1.4 million grant for the purchase of steel, flour, and other essential goods. The Soviet Union also gave Grenada a 10-year credit of \$7.7 million for the purchase of equipment.

In a speech to the Productive Farmers Union's second general meeting on October 10, Bishop announced that the Soviet Union had agreed to purchase 500 tons of Grenadian nutmeg on a yearly basis. This amounts to more than 20 percent of the nutmeg crop, which is one of Grenada's principal exports. Algeria would purchase 100 tons of nutmeg this year, Bishop said.

The East German government is providing \$3.8 million in credit for improvements in Grenada's telephone system. Part of this will go to establish direct communications between the small island of Carriacou and the rest of the country.

Tractors are being supplied to Grenada by East Germany and by Cuba. Forty tractors were being donated by Cuba, Bishop told the farmers' gathering.

A major aspect of the Grenadian government's program to spur agricultural development is the establishment of agricultural training schools where unemployed youth are given 12-week courses in scientific farming techniques. Upon graduation, the students are urged to set up agricultural cooperatives, with help from government loans and guaranteed marketing outlets.

The first class of 34 students graduated September 30 from the La Sagesse school. A second school was opened at Bocage on September 17, and three more will open in coming months.

Also crucial to improved agriculture is the repair and construction of roads in Grenada's countryside. Work is now under way on 39 miles of farm roads in four parishes. According to the October 13 *Free West Indian*, Agriculture Minister George Louison "feels that these roads mean a tremendous opening for farmers, since some of the areas had gone out of production completely. Farmers are again going back to their land, he said."

Voluntary labor by farmers and other Grenadians is an important part of the road program, the *Free West Indian* said.

In other news from Grenada, five persons accused in a June 19, 1980, terrorist bombing were to go on trial October 18. That attack occurred during a mass rally in St. George's, the capital, and was aimed at assassinating Prime Minister Bishop and other New Jewel Movement leaders. Three young women were killed and dozens were injured.

From Intercontinental Press

Mine union election set for Nov. 9

Continued from Page 16

could be further from the truth. And more and more rank-and-file miners are beginning to draw this conclusion.

Trumka and his running mates have more of a history of militancy, and they appeal to the developing class-struggle mood among miners. But during the course of the election campaign, they have not sought to mobilize this sentiment in action or provide a direction for it.

In fact, some of their stated positions point in exactly the opposite direction, just as those of Church.

Concessions

While rejecting collaboration with the energy giants, Trumka and his running mates leave the door open to it.

The United Auto Workers, they contend, is functioning in an industry that is ailing and therefore helping to bail out the automakers makes sense.

But the energy industry may also cry poverty and, as the capitalist recession deepens, offer real proof of it. Will concessions on the part of the UMWA then be in order?

The Trumka slate also falls into the trap of supporting protectionism. Its criticism of Church is that he has not pursued with enough vigor enactment of trade restrictions on European and Japanese imports to the United States. But such measures will not save jobs in coal.

The Trumka slate poses no new direction for the union in the political arena. Based on its election campaign, it is assumed that under a Trumka leadership the Coal Miners Political Action Committee (COMPAC) would continue to funnel miners' contributions to candidates of the Democratic and Republican parties, which are responsible for the cutbacks, union-busting, and for consistently placing the profits of the tiny minority of billionaires ahead of the needs of American workers and farmers.

Nonetheless, a victory for the Trumka slate would represent a decisive "no" to continuing the union's current policies. It would place miners in a better position to fight back. That in and of itself would pose a more difficult problem for the energy industry in its drive to housebreak the UMWA.

Military cutbacks — Contrary to popular impression, Washington and its allies are not unrestrained about the money they



Harry Ring

pour into the military buildup. Civilian employees of NATO called a work stoppage October 28 to protest slated pay cuts.

Vietnam syndrome — According to a recent biography, Lyndon Johnson suffered a breakup with a mistress because of her opposition to the Vietnam War, which she considered one of "history's horrors."

Sounds logical — "Taken literally, the phrase 'corporate philanthropy' is a . . . contradiction in terms. . . . Not only are corporations inhabited by people who make money, but these people have the collective purpose of consistently making more money. . . . It is hard to see where philanthropy fits into the picture." Irving Kristol, a professor of asserted so-

cial thought.

Rates must be going up — According to an ad in *Forbes* magazine ("The Capitalist Tool"), the Overseas Private Investment Corp. specializes in "political risk insurance. Insurance against loss due to war, revolution, insurrection, civil strife, expropriation, nationalization, confiscation."

How extreme can you get? — We always brushed aside assertions that former President Ford was some kind of a soft-headed left-winger. But now he's against Reagan's idea of spending \$1.5 trillion on weapons of war over the

next five years. Ford says it should be spread over a six-year period.

P.S. — Ford also thinks there'll have to be some cutting in such programs as Social Security. "I think in some of the entitlement programs," he opined, "there has to be some readjustments." Wonder if he wants to start with his federal pension?

Sensitive — The Tobacco Institute, lobbying and public relations arm of the coffin nail industry, took out two-page magazine ads emphatically asserting that cigarette companies don't want kids to smoke.

Incredible — A *Wall Street Journal* real estate column complains, "In New York City the word 'landlord' almost has the connotation of an epithet. It was the city, for example, where an unsuccessful candidate for local office was chided by his opponent for, among other things, being a landlord."

Thought for the week — "Basically, we're trying to put more modern weapons into the stockpile and we're trying to make our weapons safer." — A federal spokesperson explaining why the United States has exploded more nuclear weapons this year than any year since 1970.

CALENDAR

CALIFORNIA

Oakland

Gala Banquet and Party: Celebrate With Mel Mason. Speakers: Mel Mason; Oliver Jones, Richmond NAACP; Shirley Rainer, independent candidate for mayor of Seaside. Sat., Nov. 6; dinner, 6 p.m.; rally, 8 p.m. St. Augustine's Church, 29th St. and Telegraph Ave. Donation: \$10. Ausp: Mel Mason for Governor Campaign Committee. For more information call (415) 763-3792.

FLORIDA

Miami

Stop U.S. Attacks on Nicaragua. Speaker: Vernon Bellecourt, national leader of American Indian Movement, visited Nicaragua. Mon., Nov. 15, 7:30 p.m. United House of Prayer, 4600 NW Second Ave. Ausp: Latin America and Caribbean Solidarity Association. For more information call (305) 638-0878 or 769-3478.

ILLINOIS

Chicago

Chrysler, Concessions, and the Future for American Labor. Speakers: Al Orr, United Auto Workers Local 145, on strike against Caterpillar; member, United Steelworkers Local 1010; Jim Little, garment worker, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., Nov. 13, 7:30 p.m. 555 W Adams. Donation: \$2.50. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (312) 559-9047.

INDIANA

Indianapolis

Young Socialist Alliance Midwest Educational Conference: Freedom Only Comes If You Take It. Speakers: Andrea González, leader of YSA; Craig Honts, Socialist Workers Party candidate; slideshow. Nov. 20-21. 4850 N College. Donation: \$3.50. Ausp: YSA. For more information call (317) 283-6149.

LOUISIANA

New Orleans

The Rights of Indians in the United States and Nicaragua. Speaker: Vernon Bellecourt, American Indian Movement. Fri., Nov. 12, 7:30 p.m. St. Marks Community Center, 1130 N Rampart. Ausp: New Orleans Nicaragua Solidarity Organization. For more information call (504) 482-7997.

America's Economic Crisis: What Solution for Working People? Speakers: Ted Quant, director of Louisiana Survival Coalition; Naomi Bracey, Socialist Workers Party, unemployed glass cutter; others. Fri., Nov. 19, 8 p.m. 3207

Dublin. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (504) 486-8048.

MASSACHUSETTS

Boston

Big Time Sports — Big Time Ripoff. Speakers: Robert Goodman, author; Mike Alewitz, Socialist Workers Party. Sun., Nov. 7, 7:30 p.m. 510 Commonwealth Ave. (Kenmore Sq.) Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (617) 262-4621.

MISSOURI

Kansas City

65th Anniversary of the Russian Revolution: Its Meaning for Workers Today. Speaker: Jeff Powers, Socialist Workers Party. Sun., Nov. 7, 8 p.m. 4715A Troost. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (816) 753-0404.

St. Louis

Discarded People: Film About Racism in South Africa. Fri., Nov. 12, 7:30 p.m. 6223 Delmar (near Skinker). Donation: \$3. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (314) 725-1570.

NEW MEXICO

Albuquerque

How Can We Stop Washington's War Drive? Speakers: Fred Halstead, central leader of anti-Vietnam War movement, socialist author, and union activist. Sat., Nov. 6; dinner, 7 p.m.; program, 8 p.m. 1417 Central NE. Donation: \$4 (includes Mideastern dinner). Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (505) 842-0954.

NEW YORK

Manhattan

Political Assassination in Seattle: The Marcos Connection. Speaker: Cindy Domingo, sister of slain Filipino trade unionist Silme Domingo. Sun., Nov. 7, 2 p.m. Taller Latinoamericano, 19 W 21st St. Ausp: Committee for Justice for Domingo & Viernes. For more information call (212) 565-8944.

The Battle of Vieques: In Commemoration of Angel Rodriguez Cristobal. Speakers: Félix Ojeda, Center for Cuban Studies; Arturo Meléndez, author. Film: *La Caminata*. Fri., Nov. 12, 8 p.m. El Caney del Barrio, 170 E 116th St. (between Lexington and Third Ave.). Ausp: New York Committee in Support of Vieques and the Center for Puerto Rican Studies (CUNY).

NORTH CAROLINA

Winston-Salem

South Africa: White Rule, Black Revolt. Movie: *Last Grave at Dimbaza*. Speakers: Esau Mombane, South African student; Stacy Lions, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., Nov. 6, 7:30 p.m. 216 E 6th St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (919) 723-3419.

Why Workers Need Unions. Film: *Union Maids*. Speaker: Lisa Potash, member Teamsters Local 391, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., Nov. 13, 7:30 p.m. 216 E 6th St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (919) 723-3419.

OHIO

Cincinnati

Ten Days That Shook the World: Classic film by Sergei Eisenstein. Sun., Nov. 7, 7:30 p.m. 4945 Paddock Rd. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (513) 242-7161.

Defending Women's Rights in the 80s. Speakers: Susan Flannery, director of Women for Women, National Abortion Rights Action League; Diana Coil, chairwoman, National Organization for Women labor committee; Margaret Kelley, Young Socialist Alliance. Sun., Nov. 14, 7:30 p.m. 4945 Paddock Rd. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (513) 242-7161.

OREGON

Portland

The Fight Against Teledyne Wah Chang: Toxic Chemical-Radioactive Waste in Oregon. Speaker: Lloyd Marbet, Forelaws on Board Alert. Sun., Nov. 7, 7:30 p.m. 711 NW Everett. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Bookstore. For more information call (503) 222-7225.

PENNSYLVANIA

Harrisburg

The Fight Against War and the Draft. Panel of antiwar activists. Sun., Nov. 14, 3 p.m. 803 N 2nd St. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum, *Young Socialist*. For more information call (717) 234-5052.

TEXAS

Dallas

The Struggle for Black Liberation in Southern Africa. Speakers: Sunny Eghimien, African Students Association; Al Smith, Socialist Workers Party; Bill Stoner, community activist;

Marvin Walton, Dallas anti-apartheid coalition. Translation to Spanish. Sun., Nov. 14, 7 p.m. 2817 Live Oak St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (214) 826-4711.

VIRGINIA

Newport News

Stop Deportations: The Struggle for Freedom in Haiti. A slideshow. Sat., Nov. 6, 7:30 p.m. 5412 Jefferson Ave. (Warwick Gardens Center). Donation: \$2. Ausp: Tidewater Socialist Workers Party. For more information call (804) 380-0133.

WEST VIRGINIA

Charleston

What Is Socialism: Five-Part Class Series. "Socialism and Bureaucracy." Mon. Nov. 8, 7 p.m. 1584 A Washington St. E. Ausp: Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (304) 345-3040.

WISCONSIN

Milwaukee

Case of the Legless Veteran: Film on James Kutcher's Successful Fight Against Government Harassment. Benefit for Political Rights Defense Fund. Sat., Nov. 13, 8 p.m. reception and presentation to follow. University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee, Engelmann Auditorium. Donation: \$2. Ausp: PRDF. For more information call (414) 445-3976.

Socialists campaign at GM, GE

The Socialist Workers Party campaign in Massachusetts was different this year, reported Jane Roland, a laid-off shipfitter who ran for U.S. Senate against Democrat Edward Kennedy and Republican Raymond Shamie.

For one thing, she told the *Militant*, socialists got to the General Electric plant in Lynn twice weekly, "campaigning right on the plant grounds (having gotten permission from GE to do so), handing out leaflets, distributing newspapers."

And they went regularly to Madison Park High School, in the heart of the city's Black community, where they sold the *Young Socialist*, newspaper of the Young Socialist Alliance.

Then they went to the General Motors plant in Framingham, where they sold the *Militant* and distributed campaign literature. They also held up large posters, which urged a vote for the socialist candidates. Other posters were of a recent *Militant* article, "The last night for second shift at N.Y. GM plant."

The posters attracted a lot of attention,

Roland said. Two GM workers at Framingham wrote to the campaign asking for more information.

Mostly, Roland reported, it wasn't what the socialist campaigners did that was so different from previous campaigns in the state — it was the warm response, such as at house parties where socialist supporters and co-workers met candidates, that was new.

Or the University of Massachusetts-Boston, where socialist candidates were sponsored by the student government lecture series.

Or the Black locomotive engineer who spoke at a Militant Labor Forum during the rail engineers' strike.

Not everyone liked the socialist campaign: the "nonpartisan" League of Women Voters excluded the socialists from a debate, and a supporter of the Ku Klux Klan let the air out of Roland's tires following an anti-Klan demonstration in Boston.

Other than that, Roland reported "a great response, the best I've ever seen."



Marxism and the Working Farmer

An Education for Socialists bulletin. Includes "American Agriculture and the Working Farmer," by Doug Jenness; documents and speeches by Frederick Engels, V.I. Lenin, and Fidel Castro. 62 pp., \$2.50.

Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014. Please include \$.75 postage and handling.

U.S. out of Lebanon No arms to Israel

A national demonstration in New York on November 27 will support right of self-determination for Palestinians; the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of Israeli and U.S. forces from Lebanon and the use of funds for human needs and jobs at home, not arms to Israel.

The march will assemble at noon at 34th Street and Broadway. It will proceed down Seventh Avenue to Union Square for a rally at approximately 3 p.m. Speakers will include representatives from the Palestine Liberation Organization and the Lebanese National Movement.

Where 'Cinderella Complex' goes wrong on women

The Cinderella Complex: Women's Hidden Fear of Independence, by Colette Dowling. Pocket Books, 292 pages, \$3.95 paperback.

BY DEE SCALARA

"Personal, psychological dependency — the deep wish to be taken care of by others — is the chief force holding women down today. . . . Like Cinderella, women today are still waiting for something external to transform their lives."

This is the central thesis of *The Cinderella Complex: Women's Hidden Fear of Independence*, a book by Colette Dowling that puts forward a psychological analysis of the roots of women's oppression.

The Cinderella Complex, published last year, was on the *New York Times* best-seller list for 26 weeks. The

BOOK REVIEW

ideas in the book have received widespread attention — they've been the subject of television talk shows, numerous newspaper and magazine articles, and public talks.

The book has struck a responsive chord among millions of women.

Why?

The main reason is that women can identify with many aspects of the case histories Dowling presents of women struggling to find their identity in a society in which they occupy a second-class position.

Girls and boys

The studies on how girls are psychologically conditioned to be the oppressed sex, and how that manifests itself throughout our entire lives, touch on experiences that affect all women. The feelings of inferiority, uncertainty about ourselves, the lack of confidence, the fear of being on your own in a society that doesn't make room for single women, the conflicts facing those who try to be the "perfect woman" and work full-time jobs — all is described in painful detail.

In the chapter "Becoming Helpless," Dowling cites studies which show the different ways that boys and girls are socialized.

One study Dowling uses concludes that girls received: "a) less encouragement for independence, b) more parental protectiveness, c) less cognitive and social pressure for establishing an identity separate from Mother, and d) less mother-child conflict . . ."

As a result of these and other factors girls tend to be more dependent on other people, while boys tend to be more confident and independent, Dowling says.

Dowling idealizes men throughout the book, putting them forward as the standard women should strive to achieve. In the process, she totally ignores the ways in which men's personalities and lives are also warped by the sexism, racism, and class exploitation of this society.

Social problems, individual solutions

Despite the fact that the studies Dowling relies on show that the problems women face are *social* in origin — including the psychological problems — Dowling puts almost the entire blame for women's second-class status on women's "core dependency."

Dowling's "proof" that women are our own worst enemies is women's attitudes toward work.

Dowling notes that women earn only 60 percent of what men earn. This figure has not changed significantly in the last two decades. However, the number of college-

educated women has quadrupled in the same period. Dowling, while acknowledging that discrimination against women exists in hiring, training, and upgrading, maintains that the main reason for the wage gap is that women *don't want* high-paying jobs!

She says "women have not simply been *kept* economically dependent; they themselves do a good deal to contribute to the situation. . . . Women are continuing to choose low-paying careers."

Dowling even quotes a *Wall Street Journal* study of businessmen who complain that they can't get female employees to enter their job advancement programs. "We have to drag them kicking and screaming," says one General Motors executive. Dowling goes on to quote a male labor-relations director: "It's social conditioning. Women have never aspired to those jobs before. It's hard to convince them to aspire now."

This tone of contempt for women permeates the book, and is a natural counterpart of Dowling's conclusion that women are emotional cripples, who want nothing more in life than to freeload off of men.

Unwillingness to 'get ahead'

Other ways that women "sabotage" their earning ability, according to Dowling, is to get married, and have children. The social pressures on women to be wife and mother first and foremost, the lack of childcare to enable women with children to work, the institutionalized discrimination against women in every aspect of life — these things are simply "excuses" women use to cover their own unwillingness to get ahead.

This then leads Dowling to attack women who don't have a job as "desperate" people who refuse to take responsibility for themselves.

The fact that Dowling interviews middle-class, and not working-class women, makes it easier for her to maintain this fiction.

The only mention Black women get is as shoplifters.

Should women fight for equality?

Can women "spring free" of their conditioning?

Yes, Dowling says. However, "freedom and independence can't be wrested from others — from the society at large, or from men — but can only be developed, painstakingly, from within."

In fact, Dowling goes so far as to explain that the fight of women for equality is an *obstacle* to women becoming "liberated."

For Dowling, "the feminist movement meshed with and reinforced my own personal paralysis. I used feminism as a rationalization for staying right where I was. 'They' were keeping me down." Dowling, who views herself as someone who is now free and independent, says that women "have only one real shot at 'liberation,' and that is to emancipate ourselves from within."

There's an ironic side to this.

There could be no talk of a "Cinderella complex" if it hadn't been for the rise of the women's liberation movement, which in turn was spurred by the large-scale entry of women into the workforce in the decades after World War II. Previously, women's dependent status was taken for granted.

By fighting for equality, women's self-image — as well as men's — has changed dramatically in the last decade. The partial rejection of stereotyped sex roles, increased self-confidence, greater self-reliance — these register profound changes in how women view themselves and are viewed by society at large.

Women have earned respect — as Blacks have done — by asserting our dignity and fighting for our rights. This

is not to say we still don't have a long way to go. But the advances that have been made *through struggle* have meant big inroads into the psychology of the oppressed.

Pessimistic

Dowling explicitly rejects the notion that the inner conflict women feel about their roles in society is a product of the realities of this society. She rejects the idea that only by radically altering society will inner conflicts eventually disappear. Individual solutions are temporary band-aids, at best, which only treat the psychological symptoms of women's oppression, and which are available only to the few.

Dowling's view, therefore, is pessimistic in the extreme. If the source of women's oppression is our emotional feebleness, what hope is there for liberation?

Not much.

Dowling's message is clear: don't fight against the oppression and degradation of women in this society. That will only make you crazier. Women aren't equal because they don't want to be, and therefore don't deserve to be.

That's the same message that women have been told for centuries.

It's what the women's rights movement began to counter and what the rulers of this country are trying very hard to revive today.

Dowling's views, whatever her intentions, dovetail with the reactionary propaganda offensive against women which is so much a part of the bosses and their government's current offensive against working people.

Fortunately, what many women related to in Dowling's book will spur them to keep fighting *not* to give up their struggle for justice and equality.



LNS/Chip Berlet

According to author Dowling, women are segregated into low-paying jobs because they choose to be.

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CALIFORNIA: Los Angeles: SWP, YSA, 2546 W. Pico Blvd. Zip: 90006. Tel: (213) 380-9460. **Oakland:** SWP, YSA, 2864 Telegraph Ave. Zip: 94609. Tel: (415) 763-3792. **San Diego:** SWP, YSA, 1053 15th St. Zip: 92101. Tel: (714) 234-4630. **San Francisco:** SWP, YSA, 3284 23rd St. Zip: 94110. Tel: (415) 824-1992. **San Jose:** SWP, YSA, 46½ Race St. Zip: 95126. Tel: (408) 998-4007. **Seaside:** Pathfinder Books, 1043A Broadway, Seaside. Zip: 93955. Tel: (408) 394-1855.

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INDIANA: Bloomington: YSA, Activities Desk, Indiana Memorial Union. Zip: 47405.

GARY: SWP, YSA, 3883 Broadway. Zip: 46409. Tel: (219) 884-9509. **Indianapolis:** SWP, YSA, 4850 N. College. Zip: 46205. Tel: (317) 283-6149.

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U.S. hands off Nicaragua!

A dangerous new stage has opened in Washington's war against Nicaragua, calling for an immediate outcry of protest from American working people.

For months the Sandinista government has charged that counterrevolutionary military units under direct CIA control are attacking the Nicaraguan people on an almost daily basis. The Sandinistas have warned that these armed attacks, originating from camps in neighboring Honduras, as well as bombings and threatening U.S. naval and air maneuvers, could explode at any time into a full-scale regional war.

In recent weeks the Nicaraguans have pointed with particular concern to the joint U.S.-Honduran troop maneuvers scheduled for early December.

Until now, the U.S. media has reported only fragments of this war, thus not providing a true picture of its extensive scope and steady escalation. The White House, for its part, has either refused to comment or has denied the charges. It has stubbornly rejected Sandinista requests for negotiations to ease the mounting confrontation.

Now, the U.S. rulers have decided to admit the Sandinista charges are absolutely true and to openly defend U.S. aggression against Nicaragua.

The admission came after the November 8 *Newsweek* featured a nine-page documentation of the U.S. war to overturn the Nicaraguan government under the front-page headline "America's Secret War — Target: Nicaragua." The story details a multi-million dollar military operation against Nicaragua, organized from the U.S. embassy in Honduras by U.S. Ambassador John Negroponte (see story on page 1).

Questioned by the *New York Times* on the authenticity of *Newsweek*'s report, top Reagan officials said it was basically all true. "Negroponte, as the chief of mission, oversees the operations, but nothing is done without clearing it with Washington first," one official told the *Times*.

Reagan spokespeople disputed only one aspect of the *Newsweek* account — arguing the goal isn't to topple the Nicaraguan government, but merely to harass it. But the armed thugs trained by the CIA in Honduras certainly know what they're being paid for. One of them told *Newsweek*, "Come the counterrevolution. . . . There will be bodies from the border to Managua."

As the *Militant* has been explaining, the U.S. rulers decided on this course some time ago. The 1979 revolution that toppled the U.S.-backed Nicaraguan dictator, Anastasio Somoza, opened the road to a revolutionary upsurge throughout Central America. The Nicaraguan revolution especially inspired advances in the struggles of workers and peasants in El Salvador and Guatemala. Despite increased U.S. help to the butcher regimes in those countries, the liberation fighters continue to march forward.

Within Nicaragua itself, the government has continued to mobilize the working people to defend and extend the social and economic gains of their revolution, despite Washington's military threats and economic sabotage and the deepening opposition from Nicaragua's capitalists and landlords.

The specter of more Nicaraguas terrifies the U.S. rul-

ers. That's why Thomas Enders, assistant secretary of State, explained they have to "get rid of the Sandinistas," as *Newsweek* quoted him saying.

Doing so is not so easy, however. Washington's original plan, as described by *Newsweek* and confirmed by the White House, was for Argentine advisers to run the war from Honduras. That plan was shattered when the British imperialists went to war with Argentina last spring. Washington backed the British government in this war of aggression, while the masses of Latin America rallied behind Argentina's right to the Malvinas Islands. The Argentine foreign minister, in an unprecedented move, sought support from the Movement of Nonaligned Countries at a meeting in Havana during the war.

These circumstances made it impossible for the Argentine government to go through with the plan in Honduras. As a result Washington had to assume direct responsibility for the anti-Nicaraguan war.

The facts that have now been laid bare to millions of Americans by *Newsweek* increase the importance and the possibilities for vigorously organizing against U.S. intervention in Central America. An immediate effort is needed to educate broadly in this country on the meaning of these revelations and mobilize as much protest as possible, through public meetings, news conferences, and picket lines.

The potential to involve the unions is greater than ever before. Labor has the biggest stake of all in calling a halt to this war.

U.S. working people have no interest in being part of this new Vietnam. Hundreds of U.S. troops are already involved in the Honduran operation, and more will be sent there soon. The millions being spent to bankroll the whole criminal operation come directly out of our pockets. The working-class and farm youth being told to register for the draft today are the ones who could be flown to Central America in the not-so-distant future.

U.S. workers have every reason to oppose Washington's arrogant decision to overthrow the Nicaraguan government, just as the majority already opposes U.S. aid to prop up the hated dictatorship in El Salvador. The workers and peasants of Nicaragua are asserting their right to determine their own affairs free from the interference of the U.S. troops and big businessmen who for decades dominated their country. "Hands off Nicaragua, and all of Central America" should be the demand of U.S. working people.

An important development for advancing the fight against U.S. intervention is the conference that took place in Tijuana, Mexico, October 30-31. (See story on page 1.) That gathering launched a new coalition whose goal is to mobilize opposition to U.S. intervention in El Salvador and the rest of Central America. The conference's call for actions on January 22 can be an important rallying point for antiwar activists.

As Victor Medrano, speaking for the Salvadoran rebel organizations, told the Tijuana conference, "Every voice that is raised against intervention serves to slow down the war moves of the United States government. Whether our people will soon have the peace we desire depends on all of you."

What Bolsheviks did when elected to Duma in 1912

Marxists have a long history of participating in elections. Marx and Engels considered election campaigns to be an important tool to help reach the masses of workers and farmers with their ideas and to gauge the strength of the revolutionary workers movement. The Bolshevik Party ran campaigns in several Duma (Russian parliament) elections. They won seats in working-class districts in 1907 and 1912. How this working-class party — which had no illusions that capitalism could be voted out of power — functioned in a virtually powerless Duma is an interesting lesson for class-struggle militants today.

Below are excerpts from *Lenin as Election Campaign Manager*. This pamphlet is available from Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014, for \$2.25 plus \$75 for postage and handling.

The 13 Social Democratic deputies [in the 4th Duma in 1912] operated, at least in the beginning stages of participation in the Duma, as a common caucus. On the opening day of the first session of the fourth Duma, the joint caucus refused to participate in the selection of a presiding committee and a presiding chairman. This action was indicative of the policy that the Bolshevik deputies were to take for the next two-and-a-half years. They spoke on the floor, introduced exposés about the conditions of the working class, demanded answers from various govern-

LEARNING ABOUT SOCIALISM

ment ministers about why things weren't being done better or differently, and participated in committees. But they did not help work on legislation or pass laws. On almost all the bills that came before the Duma, they abstained from the vote. When occasionally a law was introduced that would have a certain benefit for the working class, they would vote for it.

Although the Bolshevik deputies were continually harassed, sometimes suspended from sessions, occasionally arrested, usually interrupted and heckled when speaking on the Duma floor, and continually taunted by the czarist police, they were still able to function. All the Duma deputies of all parties were supposed to have immunity from arrest; they could only be convicted by a trial of their peers, that is, by the Duma itself. But the government continuously tested to see if it could violate the immunity of the Bolshevik deputies. When the government tried this, however, the masses would intervene with demonstrations and limit the power of the government. Any infringement of the rights of the Bolshevik deputies had a profound radicalizing effect on workers who sincerely believed that their deputies should not suffer such indignities. The Bolshevik deputies had continuous contact with the workers in the factories. They visited the factories, and workers sent delegations to the deputies' headquarters. Badayev, one of the Bolshevik deputies, wrote many years later: "There was not a single factory or workshop, down to the smallest, with which I was not connected in some way or other." (*The Bolsheviks in the Tsarist Duma*. Available from Pathfinder Press for \$3.95 plus \$.75 postage and handling.)

Between sessions of the Duma, the Bolshevik deputies extensively toured all the working-class areas — talking to workers, gathering information and, above all, doing internal party work.

Lenin not only played the principal role in inspiring and organizing the election campaign, but he also played a key role in the activity of the Bolshevik fraction in the Duma. There were several meetings in Cracow [Poland] between the Central Committee members of the party and the Duma deputies to discuss what should be done. Badayev recounts the results of one of these meetings: "We returned from Cracow, armed with concrete practical instructions. The general policy to be followed by the 'six' [The Bolsheviks] was clearly outlined and also the details as to who was to speak on various questions, the material that should be prepared, the immediate work to be done outside the Duma, etc. Coming, as we did, from an entirely complicated and hostile environment, this direct exchange of ideas with the leading members of the party and above all with Lenin was of the utmost importance for us."

When the Bolshevik deputies were first elected to the Duma, Lenin sent each of them a long questionnaire, with questions probing nearly every aspect of the election campaign: how much support had they received from this faction or that faction; how many intellectuals supported them; how many workers supported them; what issues were raised besides those that were in the election platform; how were the various parts of the party platform accepted; what were the arguments that were raised by the workers; what were the questions that were raised?

Very little coverage was granted in the bourgeois press to the Bolshevik deputies and of course there was no television or radio then. The only way that a speech in the Duma could be widely circulated to the workers was by publishing it as a pamphlet, printing excerpts of it as a leaflet, or printing it in *Pravda*.

The Tylenol killer, and others

The *Wall Street Journal* devoted a recent editorial to the Tylenol killings. It made the indisputable point that the seven cyanide deaths were the work of a deranged mind. It also felt that perhaps too much media coverage had been given the case.

Certainly the coverage was heavy. According to the *Journal*, for one TV network it was the most in minutes of any story since the Vietnam war.

It occurred to us. Supposing the same media coverage was given to some of the many, many more senseless deaths in this country?

For instance, compare the media coverage of the Tylenol case with that of the damage suit filed against the federal government by some 1,200 Utah, Nevada, and Arizona residents. They charge the government with responsibility in the deaths of 300 relatives who lived downwind from the Nevada test site where more than 100 atomic bombs were exploded from 1951 to 1962.

The evidence establishes that the government knew the danger of those tests and deliberately concealed the facts to forestall opposition to the tests.

Don't bother looking for the scare headlines. For instance, the *New York Times* devoted two and one-half inches to the revelations of a former Atomic Energy Commission member. He testified that the government tried to quash an employee's report that radiation danger from the bomb was far higher than had been disclosed by the AEC.

"We were asked to persuade him not to publish his study," the witness testified.

Recently, it was disclosed that in Waterbury, Connecticut, a hazardous waste disposal company poured thousands of gallons of toxic chemicals, some radioactive, into the city sewer system and into a nearby river.

Company clients included such corporations as General Electric and General Dynamics.

How could anyone know?

A lot of people knew. Past and present employees of the company testify that local, state, and federal officials knew of the illegal dumpings.

Recently, in the mainly Black community of Afton, North Carolina, nearly 500 people were arrested while trying to block the creation of a toxic waste dump in their area. There the state is pouring thousands of tons of dirt laced with the lethal chemical, PCB. The dirt comes from a 240-mile stretch of road where several thousand gallons of PCB-contaminated oil had been deliberately dribbled out to save the cost of transporting it further.

The mad Tylenol killer? Consider the Manville Corp. asbestos killers.

Thousands of workers have died from asbestos-related diseases and thousands more will die. Some 35,000 relatives and survivors are seeking damages from Manville and other asbestos firms.

Did they know? Hell yes.

Back in the 1920s, 11 workers sued Manville after contracting lung disease. The company settled out of court to suppress the evidence.

Testimony in a number of suits since then establish government complicity in the asbestos coverup.

What's being done now? Manville, which is raking in record profits, is being permitted to declare bankruptcy for the stated purpose of avoiding damage suit payments, present and future!

One can only speculate about what motivated the deranged Tylenol killer. But in the cases we've cited the motive is clear — murder for profit.

Illegal abortions still widespread in rural U.S.

Despite the U.S. Supreme Court decision legalizing abortion 10 years ago, unsafe and illegal abortions are still widespread in the United States. This is particularly true in rural areas, where women often don't have access to cheap clinics that perform abortions. The cutting off of federal funding for abortion by Congress the last several



WOMEN IN REVOLT

Margaret Jayko

years has necessarily meant an increase in the number of poor women who must resort to back-alley abortions.

A *Militant* reader from Dallas sent me an article about one concrete example of this problem in East Texas.

It was printed in the *Dallas Times Herald*. The title was "Back-bedroom abortions," with a subhead

"Woman's arrest shows demand still exists for illegal procedure."

The article begins:

"TEXARKANA — The young husband and his pregnant wife who sought out the green, wood-frame house in the poor Texarkana neighborhood told Lillie Cheatham they only had \$27 to pay for an abortion — a procedure she usually charged \$30 for.

"The retired nurse accepted the money and sympathetically gave \$2 back, telling them to buy food with it."

The couple turned out to be cops, and minutes later, on August 13, Mrs. Cheatham was arrested for practicing medicine without a license.

The article says that her arrest only served to call attention to "what some medical professionals say is a little-known fact of life in rural areas — that in a time when safe, legal abortions are performed in big-city hospitals and clinics, demand still exists in the country for amateur, illegal ones.

"Indeed, several physicians said, abortion services no more sophisticated than Mrs. Cheatham's back-bedroom clinic probably are operating in many small cities across the state. Legal abortions are generally available only in

metropolitan areas, they point out, and no federal medical aid is available to help pay for them.

"For an indigent rural woman determined to have an abortion, the alternative is a visit to a midwife's home, a back office, or where ever the local grapevine directs."

Physicians told the *Herald* that illegal abortions will remain widespread until "rural hospitals start performing low-cost abortions or until some type of financial help is provided to help poor rural patients undergo the procedure in the city."

Many in Texarkana's Black community reacted with outrage about Cheatham's arrest, pointing out that she did nothing wrong, and that she was providing a necessary service that no one else was providing.

As one Black physician, Dr. G. U. Jamison put it, now poor women in the area who want to have an abortion "will go to someone with less skills or try it on themselves, with destructive results. Many a woman has been killed by inexpert attempts at abortion."

This story underlines, once again, the need to demand that Congress reinstate all Medicaid funds for abortions, and the need to fight restrictive legislation that limits the right to abortion.

LETTERS

Vietnam

On November 11-14 thousands of Vietnam-era vets will gather in Washington to belatedly receive the "honor" they believe the government has denied them.

The demonstration will include reunions and parades to give Vietnam vets the perception that Uncle Sam hasn't forgotten the sacrifices and deaths that working-class youth endured in defense of U.S. "interests" abroad. The demonstration is organized and sanctioned by such reactionary groups as the American Legion and Veterans of Foreign Wars. The political character of the demonstration is further underscored by the construction of a memorial showing three U.S. soldiers ready for combat. The government is again using the very lives it destroyed to defend further ventures in its own interests — interests which are inimical to working-class youth, both at home and abroad.

After years of hardships, why is the government suddenly eager to honor the Vietnam vet? Simply because it wants to justify to the people that patriotism is still alive and well in the United States. Coverage of the event will no doubt portray the demonstration as being in support of U.S. policy.

The fact that vets such as myself do not believe that this government really cares, suggests that naivete is no longer present among our young men. Working-class youth now know that the ruling class is attempting to fill its armed forces with "cannon fodder" for the next round of international conflict. These young fighters know that our government doesn't honor its soldiers, it only uses them when expediency calls. Resistance to the draft is increasing despite the efforts of the ruling class to beat the war drums for further wars of attrition against working-class youth of the world.

I, for one, am one of those whose life has been forever changed by the war I never understood until recently. Now that I do, I will be going to the demonstration to sell the *Militant* to help the vets of yesterday's struggle to become the vets of tomorrow's struggle — the struggle to prevent working-class youth from becoming tools of imperialism.

Charles Pollak
New Jersey

'Militant' tells truth

Supporters of the Socialist Workers Party campaign are finding out just how receptive Iron Range working people are to the *Militant*. On Saturday, October 16, Iron Range and Twin Cities socialist campaign supporters

went door-to-door in seven towns speaking mostly to laid-off workers. One hundred twenty-one *Militants* were sold.

The two campaign committees projected this effort as the biggest day for the *Militant* since the 1977 iron ore strike. The *Militant* newspaper became known to many iron ore miners as the only paper that told the truth about their struggle.

Many had already heard of Kathy Wheeler, the Socialist Workers candidate for governor, from hearing her speak either at union meetings or campaigning around the state.

Several people invited socialist campaigners into their homes for in-depth discussions about revolutionary politics. The articles on Marxist economic theory by Bill Gottlieb and on the farmers struggle were especially useful in this regard. One person bought a *Militant* and said he had worked with Wheeler on the government jobs program referred to by its initials IRRRB. This program, which is the so-called solution by the Democrats and Republicans to the jobs crisis on the Iron Range, provides for one month of work at minimum wage for laid-off workers. The laid-off worker bought the *Militant* and said, "Kathy and I learned what IRRRB stands for: 'I'm really, really, really broke.'"

Discussions ranged from the economy to Central America, to Lebanon, the draft, and the fight against racism. In addition to these discussions, campaigners hit on some notes of militancy. One woman shouted through her window to a campaigner standing on the sidewalk outside her apartment building, "Iron miners should lead a march on the capitol. I'm not kidding. Should we take your car or mine?"

Dave Salter
Virginia, Minnesota

Lebanon coverage

The *Militant*'s recent coverage of Lebanon has raised a question I thought was worth asking the answer to for the benefit of more people than myself.

Militant articles published recently refer to the Phalange Party of Lebanon simply as "Phalangists" or "rightists." But as the *Militant* itself reports, this movement was inspired by and based on the fascist movements of Franco in Spain and Hitler in Germany. Its program is largely borrowed from Franco's "Phalange" of the 1930s.

Why doesn't the *Militant* call these Lebanese fascists, fascists? It would seem a good way to make clear what the marines are over there supporting.

Mark Chalkley
San Antonio, Texas

To concerned public

We, the undersigned farm workers of America, contest the injustices we have continued to confront in the Arkansas Valley, Colorado, region.

We have felt continuously the obvious effects of an unjust system; we have continued to encounter the violations by our employers of the employment-related federal and state farm worker protective laws. We make known to you the violations committed by these employers against the following protective laws:

Federal Fair Labor Standard Act, Federal Farm Labor Contractor Registration Act, Federal Social Security Act, Colorado Wage Protective Law, Worker's Compensation Act of Colorado, and Colorado Field Labor Contractor Law.

All the above mentioned laws are listed in the Guide for Farmworkers in the U.S. and Puerto Rico. This guide has been published, with all research pertaining, by the Motivation Education and Training, Inc., Research Office, 55 North IH 35, Room 117, Austin, Texas 78792; telephone (512) 472-6045.

We extend our invitation to anyone concerned with our plight, to join us in our protest against the above mentioned violations. Letters to congressmen, state representatives, and supportive organizations expressing your personal concern are most appreciated.

Signed by 53
farm workers

Help from 'Militant'

I am writing this letter in regard to your article in the *Militant* of September 17, 1982, by Suzanne Haig: "The 'Militant' behind prison walls: an interview with 2 socialist fighters." We here at Marion Correctional Institute were pleased to have news of two of our former party members. We wish them well in struggles they have chosen. I have been receiving the *Militant* now close to six years. It has helped shape my political outlook. Keep up the good work, for we truly need the truth to be known.

A prisoner
Marion, Ohio

Greeting Reagan

When in Peoria on Wednesday, October 20, to give support to his right-hand Congressman Bob Michel (Republican from Illinois 18th Congressional District), President Ronald Reagan was "greeted" by an estimated 325 angry demonstrators protesting his totally inhumane administration. Groups that were present included Jobs Or Income Now from Chicago and the Quad Cities, rank and file from the United Steelworkers and the United Auto Workers, the Peorians For Peace group, Concerned Clergy for Peace from Peoria, the Illinois State University Newman Community, and the Coalition of Students Against Reagan (CSAR) from Bradley University (Peoria).

Although the local press claimed that this was a collection

of "disparate" groups, there was strong unity on several issues (nuclear freeze; U.S. out of El Salvador; money for jobs, not for war). Furthermore, this was the first example of community-labor-students unity that Peoria has seen in quite some time. And finally, perhaps the demonstration was an indicator of "the sleeping giant finally waking up," as one Eugene Debs-type socialist worker claimed. After all, Peoria is a blue-collar city that has voted conservatively Republican for years.

Michael Arney
Peoria, Illinois

Suggestion

The on-going articles by William Gottlieb on the capitalist economic crisis have been especially useful. I would make one suggestion on a follow-up article. Frequently, when discussing the issue of imports, I explain that retaliatory trade wars (resulting from import quotas and tariffs) would have devastating consequences for workers in the U.S. and abroad. It would be useful to have an article on some specific historic examples of this. (Frankly, I got stuck on this in some arguments with co-workers and friends and could only generalize since I didn't know of any specific incidences.)

Also, the Seidman article on taxes was really good.

Louise Glover
Charleston, West Virginia



Mine union elections set for Nov. 9

Trumka victory would strengthen workers' hand against bosses

BY JOHN HAWKINS

PITTSBURGH — With close to 20 percent of the union's membership out of work, the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) will go to the polls November 9 to elect a union president for the next five years.

Snowballing joblessness is a chief concern among union miners. But it is not the only one.

Holding the line on health and safety in the workplace is also a key concern.

Accidents in the mine are on the rise, while Washington threatens to gut coal mine health and safety legislation and employers arbitrarily attempt to undermine the strength of union safety committees.

Miners' determination to combat these attacks was shown in the recent actions of UMWA Local 2095 at Kitt No. 1 mine in Philippi, West Virginia. When the company tried to boost productivity, impose new work rules, and drive several union safety activists out of the mine, union members put up a fight. They prevented the company from firing miner Bill Holland, who was also the Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate in the state, and also won back the job of Bill Boyd, who had been targeted for his defense of union safety rights.

Organizing the thousands of nonunion miners across the country is another concern among UMWA miners.

Although attention has focused on the newer coal operations in the West, organizing is a major challenge to the union nationwide. This is especially true as the energy giants attempt to open nonunion mines in the heart of union territory.

Fighting capacity

And with the current contract due to expire in September 1984, UMWA members are also concerned about the fighting capacity of their union.

It was this fighting capacity of the union's rank and file that turned back the last two industry attempts to housebreak the union — in 1977-78 and again in 1981.

While miners, by and large, recognize the major victories they won in blocking these union-busting attempts, they also sense that they could have held on to more and perhaps made certain advances if the union had had adequate leadership.

These concerns of the rank and file form the backdrop to the November 9 elections, in which incumbent Sam Church and challenger Richard Trumka are vying for the presidency of the miner's union.

Running with Church are Frank Clements, candidate for vice-president, and Marty Connors, candidate for secretary-treasurer. Clements is currently a member of the union's International Executive Board (IEB) from District 20 in Alabama. Connors is the IEB member from District 5 in western Pennsylvania.

Running with Trumka, the IEB member for District 4 in southwestern Pennsylvania, are Cecil Roberts, candidate for vice-president, and John Banovic, candidate for secretary-treasurer. Roberts is currently vice-president of District 17 in southern West Virginia. Banovic is president of District 12 in Illinois.

Since assuming the union's presidency in 1979 upon the resignation of Arnold Miller, Church's standing with the rank and file of the UMWA has steadily declined.

During the three years he has been in office, Church has pursued a policy of close collaboration with the coal industry. This policy has placed him at odds with the desires and expectations of the rank and file union membership.

This became glaringly apparent during the 1981 negotiations with the Bituminous Coal Operators Association (BCOA) and the 77-day strike miners were forced to



Miners during 1981 strike. Unionists backing presidential candidate Richard Trumka (right) argue union needs change in leadership to fight for demands of membership in next contract negotiations.

wage against this industry outfit.

Church toured the coalfields to sell the first agreement, which was rejected by the UMWA membership because of its many takeback provisions.

Miners' contention that they could get more from the BCOA proved correct. The industry association offered a second contract proposal containing additional improvements and lacking some of the more blatant company takeback demands.

Much of Church's election campaign material attempts to credit him with the victory the rank and file won against the BCOA.

While correctly pointing out some of the gains won in the 1981 contract and some of the company demands the union was able to block, the Church slate glosses over other provisions that run counter to the aspirations of the rank and file.

For example, while miners forced the BCOA to retreat from its demand for company-by-company pensions, a memorandum of understanding appended to the contract cedes this issue to the companies in principle.

Say no to takeaway contracts'

Trumka and his running mates have taken aim at Church's role in the 1977-78 and 1981 contract negotiations. The central appeal of their campaign has been to urge miners to "Say no to takeaway contracts." One of the chief concessions they point to is the loss during the 1977-78 negotiations of the UMWA health card, which guaranteed miners virtually free medical care.

What victories the miners have won, they point out, have been because of the fights put up by the rank and file.

The membership, they contend, deserves a leadership that will go into the next round of negotiations with the BCOA better prepared and more in tune with the desires of the rank and file.

The Trumka slate has also focused its fire on the slim number of organizing victories for the union under Church's leadership and on the financial state of the UMWA, which, they contend, is burdened with a ballooning payroll for staff.

In his published campaign material, Church has centered much of his fire on the "radicalism" of Trumka and Roberts.

Both were prominent opponents of the first 1981 contract proposal and helped mobilize miners to reject it.

In the months leading up to the 1977 strike, Roberts was one of the leaders of the southern West Virginia miners who struck in defense of the UMWA health card. And more recently he was closely as-

sociated with efforts in District 17 to organize the nonunion Elk Run mine.

According to Church, the UMWA lost the health card because of the "wildcat strikes" led by Roberts and others. Church also brands the mass mobilization of miners at Elk Run "stupid" — citing the company's \$10-million suit against the union for the action.

Church's attack on Roberts is part of a more general theme he and his slate have been sounding during the election campaign — that Church's leadership has brought "stability" to the union, a decrease in "wildcat strikes," and a good contract, especially compared to the losses suffered by other unions.

Church has sought to discredit Trumka by questioning his eligibility to run for the union's top office. Trumka, he claims, does not have enough time as a miner. This question, however, was settled in 1981, when a similar challenge was posed to seating Trumka as the IEB representative from District 4.

Red-baiting

Along with these charges against the Trumka slate, Church forces have been conducting a red-baiting campaign against their opponents. In early August the Char-

leston *Gazette* ran two lengthy articles dealing with a report on alleged activity by dissidents and socialists in the UMWA. The report was put together by a group calling itself Intellico.

As it turned out the Intellico report was stashed away (for probable later use) in UMWA headquarters. It found its way to supporters of the Trumka slate, who made it public. Intellico, it was also revealed, is linked to the right-wing, antiunion U.S. Labor Party.

Red-baiting by Church forces has continued in other forms. Unfortunately, it has not drawn a firm and forthright response from the Trumka slate.

While there is a marked difference in stated attitude and background between the two slates, their difference programmatically is much narrower.

Church and his running mates stand clearly for continuing the policies pursued over the last three years.

The class-collaborationist policy has as its starting point the mistaken notion that coal miners and their employers have common interests: that what is good for the coal industry is good for coal miners.

As the last two rounds of contract negotiations in coal have proved, nothing

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Washington D.C. socialist supports demonstration against Ku Klux Klan

WASHINGTON, D.C. — Glenn White, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor here, issued a statement in solidarity with the demonstration called by the Coalition for National Unity Against the Klan for November 6.

The protest, to begin at noon on the West Capitol steps here, is in response to the announcement by the Ku Klux Klan that it will march the same day in Washington. A second Klan group has said it will also demonstrate that day in Montgomery County, Maryland, under the banner "Support the police."

"The Socialist Workers Party shares the concern and outrage of all working people that the Klan intends to march in our city," said White.

"The KKK is a racist, antilabor organization that carries out violent attacks on Blacks, Latinos, immigrant workers, Jews, Catholics, and unionists. The vast majority of its attacks have gone on without the government lifting a finger to arrest any of the KKKers involved."

"The Klan feels emoldened to try to march in the nation's capital because of the bipartisan attacks on Blacks and other working people — from the recent police murders in places like Baltimore or Miracle Valley, Arizona; to the sabotage of desegregation by the Democrats and Republicans in Congress; to the attempts to gut affirmative action; to the open union busting by the employers and their politicians," White said.

"The Klan is an extralegal arm of the employers aimed at intimidating and dividing working people, at blaming Blacks, Jews, or others for the economic crisis that the capitalists themselves are responsible for."

White said he fully solidarized with demands of the November 6 anti-Klan protest for full prosecution of KKK terrorists, and for jobs, justice, and equal rights.

"All working people have a stake in mobilizing public opposition wherever the Klan shows its face," White declared. "The November 6 anti-Klan action is an important step in this direction."